a. 5469.

AN

ENQUIRY

WHETHER

A general Practice of VIRTUE tends to the WEALTH or POVERTY, BENEFIT or DISADVANTAGE of *a People?*

In which the Pleas offered by the Author of *the Fable of the Bees, or private Vices publick Benefits,* for the *Uſefulneſs of* VICE *and* ROGUERY are conſidered.

With ſome Thoughts concerning a *Toleration* of PUBLICK STEWS.

Hoc, de quo nunc agimus, id ipſum eſt, quod UTILE *appellatur: in quo lapſa Conſuetudo deflexit de via, ſenſimque eò deducta eſt, ut honeſtatem ab utilitate ſecernens, & conſtitueret honeſtum eſſe aliquid, quod utile non eſſet; & utile quod non honeſtum; qua nulla pernicies major hominum vitæ potuit afferri.* Tull. de Offic. L. 2. 3.

I would willingly ask in what Vice is profitable to *The Whole?* Not ſurely in Reſpect of heavenly Things, and ſuch as are Divine by Nature: For it would be ridiculous [to ſay,] that were there not amongſt Men, Malice, and Covetouſneſs, and Lying, or that if we did not rob, plunder, ſlander and murther one another, the Sun would not run his appointed Courſe, nor the World enjoy its Seaſons. It remains then that the Exiſtence of Vice muſt be profitable for us and our Affairs,—[But] are we the more healthy for being vicious, or do we more abound with Neceſſaries? Or does Vice contribute any thing to our Beauty and Strength? *Plutarch, of common Notions againſt the Stoicks.* Eng. Tranſ. London 1704.

——What Difference is there between ſuch Triflers and Ravers, and thoſe who ſay, that Intemperance was not brought forth unprofitably for Continence, nor Injuſtice for Juſtice? That ſo we may pray to the Gods, there may be always Wickedneſs: *Ibid.*

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

The PREFACE.

THE *first Part of this Enquiry was drawn up at the Requeſt of a Friend, who intended to write a general Diſcourſe of the Grounds of Morality; and in that to conſider the different Syſtems laid down in* the Fable of the Bees *and the* Characteriſticks: *To ſhew in Oppoſition to the one, that the ſhocking Image the Author has drawn of Mankind, and the moral Virtues they have hitherto thought it their Perfection to practiſe, was monſtrous and unnatural; and in anſwer to the other, that neither is* Man *of ſo refined a Frame, or intended to be ſo, as to practiſe Virtue merely for its own Sake, or, if ſhe were repreſented in a human Shape (as* Plato *ſaid of Wiſdom) immediately to fall in love with her, and that to ſo romantick a Degree, as to obey her ſevereſt Precepts, merely for the Pleaſure of ſurveying the Beauty of her Perſon: In ſhort, to prove (what it ſeems the Perverſeneſs of ſome among us make it neceſſary ſhould be proved) that* Men *in themſelves are neither* Seraphims *nor* Devils.

In the doing this, he propoſed to conſider the Objections the Author of the Fable of the Bees *had urged againſt the Practice of Virtue: And finding that the moſt popular one was the Diſadvantage it is pretended the Publick would lye under from the Loſs of that Variety of Employments which now depend upon Vice and Roguery, what he deſigned by this Requeſt to his Friend, was to ſee in a plain and diſtinct View, in what manner Trade and Employments would really be affected by a ſtrict and general Practice of moral Duties. Upon peruſal of that Paper, the Gentleman was pleaſed to diſengage himſelf from ſo much of his Deſign as related to* the Fable of the Bees,

and lay the Burthen of it upon one much inferior to himſelf in thoſe Abilities that muſt have recommended ſuch a Treatiſe to the Favour of the Publick.

This Paper is now ſwelled to almoſt the Compaſs of a Book. But the Reader muſt not expect from hence a particular Anſwer to every thing that deſerves Cenſure in the Fable of the Bees. *The moſt tolerable Part of his Performance is a* borrowed *Satyr upon the* Follies *and* Vices *of Mankind, which the Author either miſtakes himſelf, or is pleaſed to put upon the World for a Deſcription of* human Nature, *and an Eſſay upon the Paſſions. There are other Paſſages ſo very low and indecent, that common Modeſty will ſcarce allow an Anſwer to them. Among others to this Purpoſe let the Reader turn to* p. 118. *where he is ridiculing the idle and extravagant Fears that ignorant and unexperienced People have upon them, from the Word* Enervate. *But for this I leave him to the Correction of his Brother* Anodyne, *and hope he will do him Juſtice in the next Edition of one of his late Pieces.*

Such as his Book is, he ſays it has found its Patrons. But whether they are Perſons *either of the* greateſt Probity and Virtue, *or the moſt* unqueſtionable good Senſe[a], *the Reader will be apt to gueſs from the Judgment he ſhall form of the Book itſelf in both theſe Reſpects; when he ſees of what kind the Principles are which are recommended in it, and in how conſiſtent a manner they are defended.*

But whatever Notion the World may entertain of this Gentleman's Abilities, it ought to be allowed that they are well enough proportioned to the Task he has undertaken. There needs no great Wit, and much leſs Logick, to recommend the Practice of Vice. Treatiſes of Impiety will ſubſiſt, and find Applauſe from their own intrinſick Value, without the Gloſs of good Senſe to ſet them off. What Occaſion is there for any exact Talent of reaſoning to con-

[a] P. 467.

vince

vince young Fellows, that in the midſt of their Debauchery they are promoting the publick Good? *That the Magiſtrate neglects his Duty to them in not providing better for their Pleaſures, by tolerating a ſufficient Number of Temples of* Venus, *where without the Trouble and Pains of employing People to bawd for them, they may conſtantly offer up their Devotions? That if ever through a general Practice of Virtue, or the want of good Government, they ſhould fall under ſo great a Misfortune as to find a Scarcity of* Engliſh *Whores, it is the proper Buſineſs of the Magiſtrate to look out and* procure *a ſufficient* Number from foreign Parts? *The Pupils ſuch Lectures are deſigned for, carry Inclinations about with them, that will eaſily excuſe the want of a good reaſoning Head in their Tutor.*

To thoſe who are thoroughly acquainted with the Nature of Trade, *and the real Source of a national Wealth, a great deal leſs would have been ſufficient to ſhew the Miſchiefs of Vice in general, and of Luxury in particular. But for the ſake of others I have been forced to follow him thro' a tedious Repetition of the ſame thing in different Views.*

The Account of his Opinions relating to the firſt Formation of Society, and the Origin of moral Virtues, is given with no other Deſign than to prevent the Tediouſneſs which a ſeparate Anſwer to all the Abſurdities he has fallen into would occaſion. Indeed ſuch an Anſwer is the leſs neceſſary after what has been writ with ſo much Spirit and good Senſe upon this Subject already [b].

It is a Saying of the Duke of Rochefocault, '*That* 'as wicked as Men are, they never dare to profeſs them-'ſelves Enemies to Virtue; and when they have a Mind 'to perſecute it, they either pretend not to think it real, or 'forge ſome Faults and lay to its Charge [c].' *A Character,*

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[b] Mr. *Law's* Remarks.
[c] N°. 556. Paris Edit. 1692.

which

which if the noble Frenchman *drew for himself, is done with more Judgment than any thing in his Book. But perhaps the same Principle of* SELF-LOVE, *he had with so much Sagacity spied out in all the rest of Mankind, had shut his Eyes against this lively Representation of himself.*

It is not impossible however but this might be laid down as a Model for the Observation of those who should write in the same Cause after him, and to point out just how far it was proper for them to go in their Attacks upon Virtue. This Model Mr. Esprit [a] *has followed very closely, and so, in the main, has the Author of* the Fable of the Bees: *But by leaving out sometimes the Restrictions their Notions were guarded with, or inserting others of his own, which rather expose than extenuate the Guilt of them, upon the whole, he has much outdone the Original. It is not only that most things are* not *Virtue, which the World take for such, but the Thing itself, we are told, is ridiculous in Theory, and mischievous in Practice.*

As to what relates to Charity Schools, I have not presumed to give Notice in the Title Page that I have said any thing in Defence of them. Those Gentlemen who are the greatest Admirers of the Fable of the Bees, *would hardly vouchsafe to look into a Book, which they found could treat of so ungraceful a Subject, as the Teaching poor Children to read, giving them Cloaths, and binding them Apprentices.*

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[a] La fausseté des Vertus humaines.

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CONTENTS.

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ERRATA.

Page 1. Line 9. for *People* read *separate Families.* p. 20. l. 21. read *Methods by which.* p. 94. l. 12. for *them*, read *thence.* p. 96. l. 12. read *the* more Ingenious. p. 179. l. 16. for *Persons* read *Parsons.*

AN

AN ENQUIRY,

Whether a General Practice of Virtue tends to the *Wealth* or *Poverty* of a People, &c.

THE different Parts of the Earth being endued with different Properties, and producing different Fruits for the Uſe of Mankind; and Men being naturally form'd with different Talents and Diſpoſitions, and acquiring different Sorts of Skill in the Improvement of theſe; the Conveniency of Trade was found out as ſoon as there were any People in the World. Trade is nothing but an Exchange of Commodities, that is, of the Fruits of the Earth, either natural, or improv'd by Skill and Labour. Now Reaſon and Obſervation immediately taught them, that tho' no one Part of the Earth produced the Fruits of the whole, yet by Exchanging the Superfluities of

one Sort, for what they wanted of others, the Defect might in a good Measure be supply'd. Trade therefore is a Contrivance to extend (as much as possible) the particular Benefits that any one Person or one People enjoys, to all People; and in effect to make each Portion of the Earth produce what the whole Earth produces. But these Advantages were soon carried further than bare Necessity pointed out to them. They found that less than all the Product of the Earth, and less than all their Labour would supply them with Necessaries and Conveniencies, and therefore naturally thought of adding to them the Elegancies or Ornaments of Life. From hence it will appear,

First, That the Wealth of a Country consists in a Soil that produces the greatest Plenty of the Necessaries, Conveniencies and Ornaments of Living, or in the Returns of them by Trade. In order to enjoy which Advantages, the Community must have Hands enough to make the most of the natural Fruits of their Soil, to improve them by Skill and Labour, to secure Men in the Possession of them when they are obtain'd (with the Assistance of a mild Government) to exchange Commodities with one another, to furnish Foreigners with that Share of them that is not wanted at home, and to import in Exchange for them such of their Commodities as are wanted.

But Secondly, in forming a Comparison between the Wealth of one Country and that of another, we need only consider the Plenty of Ornaments there is in each; for the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life are common to almost all People alike; it being absurd to say that a People should subsist without Necessaries, and very unlikely that any Community of Men should pitch upon so small or so barren a Portion of the Earth for their Residence, as by the Help of their Labour would not supply them with all the Conveniencies of Life.

In this View therefore the Neceſſaries and Conveniencies of Life ſhould not be conſider'd as a Part of National Wealth any otherwiſe than as a Superfluity of them will procure Ornaments in return for them from thoſe Countries, where 'tis their Intereſt either to neglect their own Soil, or to work up the Product of it for foreign Trade, rather than Home Conſumption. What is common then to all Countries alike being thrown out of the Account, publick Wealth may be ſaid to conſiſt in the greateſt Plenty of Ornaments.

Theſe Advantages, the Author of *The Fable of the Bees* thinks no Society can enjoy, where there is a General Practice of Virtue. The Subſtance of what he ſays to this Purpoſe, is this:

" Since a Number of Men are employ'd and main-
" tain'd by ſecuring others in the Enjoyment of their
" Wealth or Property, which can only happen upon
" a Suppoſition of Wrong and Violence, all theſe
" muſt be left without Employment where there's an
" Univerſal Honeſty. Therefore the Loſs of this La-
" bour is a Loſs of Wealth to the Community, and
" the Maintenance of that vaſt Number of idle Hands,
" an unſupportable Charge and Burthen.

To judge of the Weight of this Objection, it muſt be conſider'd, whether what is laid down in the firſt Poſition, be a true Account of National Wealth; whether it conſiſts only in the Fruits of the Soil improv'd by Skill and Labour, and the Returns of them by Trade. If the Affirmative be true, 'tis neceſſary only there ſhould be Hands enough to make the moſt of theſe Advantages, that is, to manure the Earth for the better and more plentiful Production of its Fruits, to draw forth and gather theſe Fruits, to improve them by Skill and Labour, and to exchange the Superfluities of them for ſuch other Commodities as are wanted. By the Help of theſe Hands then, the Society will be

as rich as *it can be*, and no ſort of Labour that does not contribute to one of thoſe Purpoſes, can add *at all* to their Wealth. For as to theſe Employments that are concern'd in the Security of Property, tho' they are neceſſary while Vice and Roguery ſubſiſt, yet they add no new Wealth to the Community; they only continue what is already got to the proper Owners. And as the Security of Poſſeſſions ſo gain'd gives Encouragement to Induſtry in the gaining them, 'tis upon that Account only that ſuch Hands are inſtrumental in the Acquiſition of National Wealth. But as theſe very Poſſeſſions would be much better ſecur'd by an Univerſal Honeſty, ſo ſuch an Honeſty would be a much greater Encouragement to Induſtry, and conſequently in a greater Degree contribute to the National Wealth. But this is carrying the Benefit of Univerſal Honeſty further than is neceſſary in Anſwer to the Objection. 'Tis ſufficient, at preſent, if it appears, that an entire Abſence of Roguery, by which 'tis pretended ſo many Hands would be left idle, could not at all take off from the National Wealth.

It will be ask'd in Conſequence of the ſecond Part of the Argument, how theſe Men left without Employment can be maintained?

It has been prov'd already, that this Change in their Morals would not leſſen the Wealth or Property of a People, and conſequently there would be the *ſame* Fund of Proviſions for the Maintenance of the *ſame* Number of People. We will allow then that ſuch as are thus deprived of their Employments, have a Right to a Maintenance ſome way or other, and that the Society is under an Obligation to employ them, or (what comes to the ſame Thing), to maintain them unemployed.

It muſt be conſider'd, that as every Man is oblig'd to be at ſome Expence, in fencing himſelf and his Property againſt Violence and Wrong, ſo this Expence would

would be entirely ſaved by a General Practice of Virtue; and the Savings of this Expence throughout the Community would be a Fund for the Maintenance of ſuch as by this Means are grown uſeleſs. This every one would chearfully contribute to the Payment of, on account of the compleat Security he has of enjoying the Remainder without Fear or Hazard.

Indeed in the preſent Situation of Affairs Idleneſs has a Tendency to Vice; but the Objection ſuppoſes an entire Abſence of Vice. The Queſtion here is not whether *Idleneſs* promotes *Vice*, but whether *Virtue* begets *Poverty*. It will be the ſame thing therefore to the Community, whether theſe Hands are employ'd in uſeleſs Labour, or maintain'd unemployed; for bare Employment is of no Uſe to the Publick, nor is it poſſible it ſhould be.

I have known an Overſeer of the Poor in the Country, when a luſty Fellow has complain'd to him of his want of Work, employ him for a whole Day together in turning a Grindſtone, tho' nothing was all that while ground upon it. I believe it won't be ſaid that the Pariſh was the richer for the Fellow's Labour; or that they might not as cheaply have paid him for ſitting at home, or obſerving the Shapes of the Clouds. The Overſeer however judg'd right; the Fellow grew aſham'd of ſo ſenſeleſs a Task, and ſoon found out a better Emyloyment himſelf.

That ſomewhat like this would be the Caſe of the whole Community, is the next thing we ſhall endeavour to prove; that is, that all or great Numbers of thoſe we have hitherto ſuppoſed would be uſeleſs from the want of their preſent Employment in providing againſt Roguery, would find other Employments: And as all the Skill and Labour exercis'd in theſe, would be juſt ſo much Addition to the publick Wealth; ſo it muſt be put to the Account of this Univerſal Honeſty,

that

that is, it will be a Proof that ſuch Univerſal Honeſty not only does not occaſion any *Poverty*, but would greatly encreaſe a National *Wealth*.

In the firſt Place, there never was yet that Country in the World, where every Part of the Soil was ſo compleatly improv'd as not to be capable of much further Improvement. This of it ſelf would employ vaſt Numbers, and all ſuch further Improvement of the Soil would be an additional Wealth.

2dly, If Wealth conſiſts in a Plenty of Ornaments, whatever adds to theſe is an Addition to Wealth. Now the Skill and Labour that might be employ'd in the Improvement of Commodities, or in adding to the Elegancies of Life, is almoſt infinite. The Arts of Painting, Carving, Gilding, *&c.* might take up the Time, and ſupply Labour to all ſuch as are now employ'd in Bolts, Locks and Fences. Such as are employ'd in teaching others their Duty, or pleading for their Rights, would, by their ſuperior Skill and Underſtanding, be the Men of Wealth, and live in Elegance and Grandeur themſelves, or in ſome Condition or other, contribute to thoſe Advantages in their Neighbours.

There could be no Want of Employment then, ſuppoſing this great Change to be ever ſo ſudden, and that a Miracle intervened to effect it at once. But this is ſetting the preſent Queſtion in a very improper Light. When this is apply'd to Practice, and addreſs'd to the Magiſtrate [a], as a Rule to direct him in the Government of a Society, the Change muſt neceſſarily be ſuppoſed to be *gradual*; and then it will appear ſtill plainer that there would neceſſarily ariſe a Succeſſion of new Trades, or a greater Number of the preſent

[a] *In Anſwer to the Preſentment of the Grand Jury, he ſays*, The Matter complain'd of (the Fable of the Bees) is manifeſtly addreſs'd to Magiſtrates and Politicians, p. 469. N. B. *The laſt Edition is all along refer'd to.*

Trades

Trades that contribute to the ornamental Parts of Life, in Proportion as the Trades in providing againſt Roguery grew uſeleſs and wore off.

All the Conſequences of an Univerſal Honeſty will beſt appear from the following Caſe.

Suppoſe a Man poſſeſs'd of a large Flock of Sheep, who is oblig'd to be at a great Expence in making his Fences very ſtrong, and in maintaining a Number of Shepherds to preſerve them againſt the Wolves that abound in his Neighbourhood. Afterwards by the Care and Skill of the Government, or the Aſſiſtance of his Neighbours, the Wolves are all deſtroyed. Would the Countryman complain that by this Means his Servants were left without Employment? Or if he ſhould, would not he be told, that his Expence, and not his Income, was leſſen'd? Or if he was ſtill oblig'd to maintain the *ſame* Servants, that they would contribute to his Profit by an Improvement of other Parts of his Farm; or if there was no Room for that, to his Conveniency and Grandeur, by adorning his Houſe and Gardens; or by a better Attendance upon himſelf and Family? The worſt that could happen from their Want of Employment being only that ſome of his Shepherds would be turned into Footmen, and wait at their Maſter's Table, inſtead of watching his Flocks. In ſhort, 'till his Acres grew fewer, or his Crops leſs plentiful, no one ill Conſequence could follow from the Change.

Rogues and Plunderers are the *Wolves* of humane Society; and that People, as well as private Family, would be the moſt happy and wealthy, where the Employment for Fence-makers, Guards and Watchmen, and the *Occaſion* for them were entirely at an End.

If it be objected that ſuch a Morality would deſtroy a Part of Foreign Trade, becauſe ſuch as are now employed in building, exporting, *&c.* Ships of War, Ammunitions and other warlike Stores, which are occaſi-

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on'd by Injuſtice and Oppreſſion, would then have nothing to do; I anſwer, that warlike Stores, &c. being the Fences againſt the Plunder of other Societies, as Bolts, Locks and Barrs are againſt the Robberies of private Men, if ſuch a Morality is ſuppos'd to be confin'd to one Nation, other Countries will ſtill have Occaſion for thoſe Commodities; but ſuppoſing it Univerſal, their Commerce in the Ornaments of Life would be the greater, as their Demand for Proviſions againſt thoſe Miſchiefs grew leſs.

To illuſtrate yet further, what has hitherto been ſaid by another Inſtance that comes likewiſe within the Author's Scheme [b].

Put the Caſe that by another Miracle the Uſe of Phyſick were to ceaſe (as moſt of it, the learned Author thinks, would ceaſe with common Roguery [c], whilſt a good Part of the Remainder would be left to ſubſiſt upon Folly) ſuppoſe all People were to enjoy a perfect State of Health 'till they died (for Sickneſs is a natural Evil, as Roguery *is* a moral one) Would any one ſcruple to pay Phyſicians as much to ſit ſtill, as he pays them at preſent for Advice and Phyſick, in Conſideration of ſuch a Bleſſing? Or wou'd the Publick ſuffer by their Idleneſs, or that of the Tradeſmen dependant upon them? If the Evils themſelves ceaſe at the ſame Time that the Proviſions againſt them are remov'd, 'tis impoſſible any Loſs or Inconvenience ſhou'd happen from the Alteration. If the Want of Employment be in it ſelf a Grievance, let it be remembred, that tho' the univerſal Medicine would be worth very little, yet a large Field of Labour would

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[b] P. 428. Evil moral as well as natural, is the ſolid Baſis, the Life and Support of all Trades and Employments, without Exception.

[c] P. 5, & 15.

ſtill

ſtill remain behind in ſquaring the Circle, finding out the Philoſopher's Stone, or a perpetual Motion.

In the Inſtance now mention'd, 'tis certain, that a ſmall Part of our Foreign, as well as Inland Trade, would be deſtroy'd. 'Twill be the ſame Thing in any more conſiderable Branch. As there would be no Occaſion for the Importation of Drugs, it will be ask'd how that Quantity of our Goods, which is now exported in Exchange for them, can be diſpos'd of? To ſuppoſe then the worſt that could *poſſibly* happen, and that there is no other Vent for them, let there be as much Skill and Labour employ'd in working them up as there is now, and when they are ready for Exportation, either let them be deſtroy'd here, or ſhipped off immediately, and thrown over Board. *Goods burnt and ſunk* [ſays the Author, in favour of Storms, Shipwrecks, *&c.* [c]] *are as beneficial to the Poor, as if they had ſafely arrived at their ſeveral Ports*; which then will appear more demonſtrably true in the preſent Caſe, as the Subſtance of the Exporter or Employer of the Poor is not leſſen'd by ſuch an Accident. It will be ask'd, Who then ſhall pay for the Materials and Workmanſhip of them? The Property of thoſe People whoſe Want of Drugs or Phyſick ceaſes, is increas'd by this means; or, which is the ſame Thing, their neceſſary Expences are leſſen'd. Theſe People wou'd think the Bleſſing of Health cheaply purchas'd at ſo ſmall a Price; or as the Caſe is general, let the Publick pay it, and raiſe it upon the People in what Proportion they pleaſe. 'Tis plain, the whole Community would be as able to pay it as they are *now*, ſince no Part of their Wealth is leſſen'd by the Change. Their natural Soil would be the ſame, while more Hands might be employ'd in making the utmoſt Advantages of it.

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[c] P. 421.

It would be too tedious to purſue this Obſervation thro' the ſeveral Branches of Trade that are now employ'd in providing againſt Vice and Roguery; but I believe enough has been ſaid to convince the intelligent Reader, that the ſame Way of Reaſoning will hold good univerſally in other Inſtances.

The Author makes Sickneſs, and ſuch other *natural Evils*, a Part of the *ſolid Baſis, the Life and Support of Trades and Employments* [f], as much as *Moral* ones. In the ſame Manner the Inundations and Incroachments of the Sea, that ſome Countries are particularly liable to, are publick Benefits in that Country, as much as the Plunder and Incroachment of Rogues and Villains; for as many Hands may be employ'd in providing againſt thoſe Natural Evils, as againſt Moral ones. What a vaſt Expence are the *Dutch* at every Year, in repairing their Dikes? Now according to him, a Project for ſaving this Expence ought to be lookt upon as a Plot againſt the Wealth and Safety of their Country, as it would certainly deprive a vaſt Number of Men of their preſent Employment. But if a rational feaſible Project for this Purpoſe ſhould meet with ſuch a Reception, *the wiſe Rulers of that well-order'd Commonwealth* [g] would, in the Opinion of ſome People, forfeit a Share of their Reputation for good Policy. Suppoſe yet further, that ſuch Hands were depriv'd of their preſent Employment ever ſo ſuddenly, that Providence ſhou'd in one Night's time raiſe Barriers againſt the Sea, that were to laſt as long as the World it ſelf, in all Probability, theſe *wiſe Rulers* would not conſider ſuch a Miracle as a National Misfortune, but would find out ways enough to employ thoſe Hands who now work in their Dikes, eſpecially when, as the Author

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[f] P. 428. [g] P. 95.

tells

tells you, in ſome of their Provinces there's *Abundance of Ground lying waſte* for want of Improvement [h].

This Abſurdity runs thro' his Book. *Evil moral as well as natural is the ſolid Baſis*, &c. Not only all ſorts of Vice and Roguery, *but the Neceſſities and Imperfections of Man, the various Inclemencies of Air and other Elements, the Treachery of Water, the Rage of Fire, the Sterility of the Earth*, Sickneſs and Diaſters of all ſorts; in ſhort, all ſuch Evils as the World call *Misfortunes*, come into his Account of *Publick Benefits*. *The Gifts and Munificence of Heaven, and all the Bounties and Benefits of Nature*, by *ſaving* a World of *Labour* and Pains, make us *poor*. *But the Inclemencies of Air and other Elements, Badneſs of Seaſons, the Stubbornneſs and Sterility of the Earth*, are the great Source of Trades, and conſequently of Wealth: They rack our Invention, and ſo make us *rich*. The Loſs of Limbs are vaſtly uſeful to a Society, or elſe there could have been no room for the Invention of wooden Legs, or the Practice of Surgery. If all People had their Sight in Perfection, the World had never had the Benefit of the curious Workmanſhip of Glaſs-eyes; and I take it upon me to prove, that if none were to walk upon their Feet, there would be more Stilts and Crutches in the Nation than there are now: And *the greater Variety there is of Wants, the larger Number of Individuals may find their private Intereſt* in ſupplying them [i]. The finding out the Longitude, for Inſtance, is one of the moſt impertinent miſchievous Attempts that has hitherto employ'd the Care or Skill of Mankind. Inſtead of offering Rewards for it, every good Subject ought to beſeech Providence to blaſt any traiterous Endeavours towards it, and to avert ſo heavy a Calamity as the Prevention of Shipwrecks would bring upon

[h] P. 205. [i] P. 465.

us. If the Reader would ſee more of the ſame Strain of Politicks, let him read from Page 414 to 428, particularly 424 and 425, and the Vindication of them at the End [k].

Upon the Whole, a People in the Circumſtances *the Author* has repreſented his reform'd Hive [l], that is, without any Vice or Roguery among them, would be wealthier than otherwiſe, as enjoying at leaſt as many of the Neceſſaries and Conveniencies, and more of the Ornaments of Life; or in other Words, their Income would be at leaſt as much, and their neceſſary Expences leſs. Whatever Complaints he may think fit to make, that Smiths, *&c.* [m] would ſtarve, if there were no Roguery going forward, every Man would contribute to maintain thoſe Engineers, not only in Idleneſs, but in Plenty and Affluence, provided he could be ſecure from the leaſt Apprehenſion of Violence and Wrong of any kind; at leaſt every Man *would*, that did not hope to thrive upon a general Plunder, to make himſelf Amends for the Injuries he received from ſome, by his greater Oppreſſion of others. Beſides, nothing can be ſo great an Encouragement to Induſtry, which is the Life of Trade, as *a Security*, that what a Man gets can never be wreſted from him.

This Security is the chief End of Government; and if that particular Form of Government is the beſt calculated to promote the Trade and Wealth of a Country, and that People are the moſt happy, where the Properties of private Men are not liable to the Encroachments of arbitrary Rulers: *That* Form of Government, which could effectually ſecure Men from

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[k] *See likewiſe the Index under the Word* Bleſſings, *the Place refer'd to (it ſeems) is to prove* Bleſſings *prejudicial.*

[l] P. 13. [m] P. 82.

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the Injuſtice and Wrongs of one another, ſhould, one would think, be ſtill more perfect. For the Tyranny of a Prince affects People in a more remote Degree than Robbery, Violence and Plunder among themſelves. By ſuch Practices they are thrown back into a State of Nature, which is much worſe than a very bad Government. A Prince would do his People leſs Miſchief if he oppreſs'd them *himſelf*, and prevented their oppreſſing *one another*, than if, by an indolent Behaviour and Remiſsneſs of Government (tho' he refrain'd from all Violence himſelf) he allow'd every Man to injure his Neighbour as he pleaſed. And yet a Stateſman, who could fix this happy Model of Government, according to him, ought to be deemed an arrant Traitor to his Country, by rendring ſo many Smiths and Watchmen uſeleſs. The Author muſt not think to explain away the Badneſs or Abſurdity of his Opinions, by ſaying, that ſuch a Form of Government is *impoſſible*; that *to live*

Without great Vices, is a vain
Eutopia *ſeated in the Brain*;

an Excuſe he ſeems to be laying in for in the *Moral*, as he calls it [n]. For wherever the Scheme was firſt *ſeated*, 'tis at preſent in *the Fable of the Bees*. He ſuppoſes *the Fact*, and then undertakes to ſhew you the Miſchiefs of it. 'Tis only to diſguiſe his main Deſign, that he employs his ingenious Raillery in ridiculing *Fools*, who *only ſtrive*

To make a great an honeſt Hive,

that is, for endeavouring at what is *impoſſible* to obtain. His real Sentiments appear, when he calls *the grumbling Hive* Rogues and Fools, for having by their impertinent Prayers procur'd *in Fact* ſuch a State and

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[n] P. 23.

Condi-

Condition, and conſequently ſuch Ruin and Poverty. The *Knaves* are actually *turned honeſt* [o], a Curſe which the great and good Gods ſent them in their Vengeance as the greateſt they could inflict,

——*All the Rogues cry'd brazenly,*
Good Gods, had we but Honeſty!
Merc'ry *ſmil'd at the Impudence,*
And others call'd it Want of Senſe;

(tho' by the way, *Mercury* acts a little out of Character here; he might with a better Grace have laugh'd at their want of Senſe, than their want of Modeſty or Honeſty, Qualities he was not very remarkable for himſelf) *but* Jove *mov'd with Indignation, at laſt ſwore in Anger* [p],

——————He'd rid
The bawling Hive of Fraud; AND DID.
The very Moment it departs,
And Honeſty fills all their Hearts.

The Bees themſelves immediately grew ſenſible of their *ugly* Transformation from Knavery to Honeſty,

——*In Silence they confeſs,*
By bluſhing at their Uglineſs.

Then comes the dreadful Account of Ruin and Deſolation this Monſter Honeſty brought with it;

But, oh you Gods! What Conſternation,
How vaſt and ſudden was th' Alteration!
In half an Hour the Nation round
Meat fell a penny in the Pound, &c. [q]

Till at laſt, finding themſelves poor,

——*To avoid Extravagance*
They flew into a hollow Tree,
Bleſt with Content and Honeſty [r].

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[o] The Title of the Fable itſelf is *The Grumbling Hive, or, Knaves turn'd honeſt.*

[p] P. 13.

[q] P. 13. [r] P. 22.

As this is an Excuſe which the Author has very often Recourſe to, I ſhall be oblig'd to take notice of it again in the Courſe of this Enquiry.

If what has been ſaid be a true Account of national Wealth; if it conſiſts wholly in the Product of the Soil improv'd by Skill and Labour, and the Returns of it by Trade, it will help us to diſcover another Miſtake that ſome among us have run into; which is, that all Inventions to ſave Labour and Trouble, by the Help of which one Man may do the ſame Work in one Day, that would otherwiſe employ ſeveral Men for ſeveral Days, are prejudicial to the Publick. For whatever Labour is employ'd for other Purpoſes than the drawing out, improving, *&c.* the Product of the Soil, is utterly uſeleſs to the Publick; and conſequently, if by the Help of new Inventions any piece of Work that now requires *two* Men, can be done in the ſame Time by *one* Man, all that Labour ſo ſav'd would be ſo much real Gain to the Publick, as long as there is any room for the further Improvement of their Soil, or beautifying the Product of it, or extending their Commerce.

Tho' ſuch an Univerſal Morality, as has been all along ſuppos'd, be impoſſible in Fact, without the Intervention of *a Miracle* (which one would wonder *the Author of the Fable* ſhould have Recourſe to for the Foundation of his Scheme) yet what has been ſaid will hold equally true as to any leſs Improvement in Virtue, that the Care and Skill of the Magiſtrate can bring about; and 'tis in this *practical* View only that his Notions are of any Conſequence to the World, or deſerve to be conſider'd.

It will be hard to gueſs, what Deſign *the Author* could have in publiſhing this Syſtem of Politicks. Has there been ſuch a quick and ſudden Progreſs in Mora-

lity

lity of late Years here in *England*, as to occaſion the ſtarving great Numbers of People who were before employ'd in fencing againſt Roguery? For he tells you ENGLAND is the Country his *Hive* is intended to repreſent [s]. There are a great many thouſand Acres of incultivated Land, which, at the Expence of Labour, would bring a large Acceſſion of Wealth to the Kingdom; many Rivers might be made navigable, neglected Branches of Trade encourag'd to publick Advantage, and our publick Roads be kept in a much better Order. Theſe are but a few Inſtances that might be named, wherein the Labour of many thouſands, according to his own Aſſertion [t], might be uſefully employed.

Tho' the Magiſtrate were to ſet about the Work of Reformation ever ſo heartily, I am afraid the Progreſs he could make, would not be ſo great as to enable him to make Draughts from ſuch as are now employed in defending us againſt Roguery, large enough to ſupply theſe great Occaſions; even tho' no new Trades were to ariſe, nor the Number of the preſent ones to encreaſe, that make for the ornamental Parts of Life, to afford Labour for ſuch as would grow uſeleſs by a general Practice of Honeſty. And yet till all this happens, and the Society is found to groan under the Weight and Miſery of Virtue, one would think there ſhould be no Occaſion for ſuch Leſſons of Immorality. Has there been any inſolent Attempt ſet on Foot to abridge Mankind of their natural Liberty of practiſing Vice and Wickedneſs, or to make Virtue and Religion faſhionable among us? Can he, among the numberleſs Projects that have of late Years been

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[s] Preface, p. 4.

[t] P. 364. There is above three or four hundred Years Work for a hundred thouſand Poor, more than we have in this Iſland.

offer'd for the Good of this Nation; tell us of any Schemes calculated to make the preſent or the future Age more honeſt or virtuous than former ones? I can think of but one, out of a great many that might be named to the contrary, I mean that of *Charity-Schools*: And 'tis greatly to the Honour of the Perſons concerned in promoting theſe Seminaries of Virtue, that the ſame Book which attempts to prove *the more wicked and vicious Mankind are*, the better Subjects they are, *and the more uſeful Members of a Commonwealth*, ſhould have in it a Treatiſe againſt thoſe Charities. The Author might very well have changed Titles, and have called *the Fable* it ſelf *an Argument againſt Charity-Schools*. For if *private Vices* are *publick Benefits*, 'tis a much better Argument againſt them, than any he has urged. But this will be conſidered more at large hereafter.

His Compariſon of Wickedneſs in a Society to the Dirt of the Streets in *London* [n], is nothing to his Purpoſe. The only way of reaſoning th[illegible]ill hold here, is to ſay, that as the Wealth and T[illegible] the City of *London produce* ſome *Dirt* in the Streets, ſo will the Wealth of the Society *produce* ſome *Vice* and Wickedneſs in the People; which (if it proves any thing) is not an Argument for the *Uſefulneſs* of *Vice*, but rather ſhews the *Inconvenience* of *Wealth*. To ſay, as the Dirt of the Streets is the *Effect* of the Wealth of the City, ſo Vice or Wickedneſs is the *Cauſe* of the Wealth of a Society, is a ſort of Logick peculiar to himſelf.

This Compariſon then is againſt him. For as a Project for the better cleanſing the Streets would not, I preſume, be lookt upon by the Inhabitants, as a Plot

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[n] *See the Preface from* p. 9. *to* p. 11. *and* p. 471.

againſt the Trade and Wealth of the City: So the Extirpation of Vice in a Society would as little tend to the leſſening the publick Wealth or Happineſs; even tho' each could be ſo effectual, as that *the Blackguard and the Scavengers* in the *one* Caſe [w], and Smiths [x] and Watchmen in the *other*, ſhould be oblig'd to quit their preſent Employments, and the Expence of both be entirely ſaved.

But the Author thinks, however it might fare with leſſer Communities, that *no Society can be raiſed into a rich and mighty Kingdom, or ſo raiſed ſubſiſt in their Wealth or Power for any conſiderable Time, without the Vices of Man* [y]. Now this Diſtinction he himſelf has effectually deſtroyed elſewhere. For if *what we call Evil in this World*, (the Expreſſion looks as if he differ'd from the reſt of the World in his Opinion of it) *moral as well as natural, is the grand Principle that makes us ſociable Creatures, the ſolid Baſis, the Life and Support of all Trades and Employments without Exception, that the Moment Evil ceaſes, the Society muſt be ſpoiled, if not totally diſſolved* [z], it will follow, that Evil is eſſential to the *Being* of Society, to leſſer ones as well as greater. But to conſider his Argument as it ſtands here.

As to the Firſt Part of it, it will be readily allowed him, that Hiſtory furniſhes very few Inſtances of any wide Extent of Dominion, that was not *at firſt* procur'd by Methods very inconſiſtent with Virtue and Morality. The Conduct of an *Alexander* at the Head of his Army can as little be juſtified, as that of *Cartouche* and his Gang. But then the utmoſt he can make of his Argument, will be this, that a Man cannot raiſe ſo large an Eſtate by being content with his

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[w] Preface, p. 11.
[x] P. 82. [y] P. 225. [z] P. 428.

own,

own, as if he plunder'd his Neighbours, and had ſufficient Power to back him in his Outrage, and that ſuch Plunder can't happen without the Aſſiſtance of Vice and Roguery. In ſhort, that it is impoſſible to be a mighty Robber, without being ſomewhat diſhoneſt; a Diſcovery in which *Hamlet* has been beforehand with him [a].

If he could have prov'd indeed that no body was the *poorer* for this *plunder'd Wealth*, it would have been a Secret worth communicating to the World; a Secret of great Uſe to juſtify the Conduct of Miniſters of State.

But with regard to whole Societies he has yet a much harder Task. For beſides the proving that no other Prince is the poorer for theſe plunder'd Territories, he muſt ſhew, before he can make the leaſt Uſe of it, that a wide Extent of Dominion is neceſſary to the Wealth and Happineſs of the People. And as to that, it muſt be conſider'd, that the Happineſs of a Community, is nothing but the Happineſs of the private Individuals who compoſe it. To ſay, that a Community may be happy, where the private Individuals are unhappy, is to ſay, that an Army may be well cloathed, though every ſingle Man in every Regiment were forc'd to go naked. 'Tis highly abſurd to call a Nation happy and flouriſhing, only becauſe it makes a Figure abroad, and is a Terrour to its Neighbours. For the greateſt Power and Force that ever any Nation has poſſeſs'd, either to defend themſelves, or to offend their Neighbours, has been of no real Uſe, but as they tended to make each Individual happy in his *private* Life, by ſecuring to him the free and quiet Enjoyment of his own. If we are to judge by this Teſt, of the Uſe that new Acquiſitions of Territories are to a Society,

[a] *There's ne'er a Villain dwelling in all* Denmark, *but he's an arrant Knave.* Shakeſpear's Hamlet.

they will be far from ſerving the Purpoſes of the Author. Are private Men the more happy or the more wealthy, becauſe their Sovereign has the Glory to be a Conqueror? It is not the Grandeur of the Prince, that makes the People happy; nor the Extent of his Dominions, that makes them rich. New Provinces may be bought or added every Year, and yet the Eſtates of private Men be not at all enlarg'd by it. If one Part of a Prince's Dominions grow the richer for any Addition to them, it can only happen by draining the Wealth from other Parts. All Ages and Countries will afford Examples enough of this Truth. But to avoid giving Offence, I would chooſe to put the Reader in Mind of what has happen'd elſewhere, rather than of what *Engliſhmen* may be ſuppos'd to be more immediately concern'd in.

But when a mighty Kingdom is ſo raiſed, it is by no means true, that it can't ſubſiſt in its Wealth or Power, without the Aſſiſtance of *Vice*. I expect it will be ſaid that Power muſt be ſupported by the Methods 'twas procured; but beſides that this has no relation to *private* Vices, (no more indeed has the whole Objection) it can only be true as to the firſt *Conquerors themſelves*, and will ceaſe afterwards, when a long Poſſeſſion, and a continued Submiſſion to the *Succeſſors*, have repair'd the want of Juſtice in the Title of the *Conqueror*. This, 'tis probable, has been the Caſe ſome time or other of every Kingdom in the World. When this Right is once acquir'd, Virtue and Morality don't exact a tame Submiſſion to Injuries and Invaſions from abroad, nor ſtand in the way to any publick Benefit or Happineſs at home. Enough has been ſaid to prove the Truth of the one already; and as to the *other*, Courage and a Love of Liberty have never yet been reckon'd among the Number of Vices[b].

[b] *See* p. 21. *of the Fable from theſe Words,* So few in the vaſt Hive, *&c.*

§ 3.

SECT. II.

FROM what has been ſaid, I preſume we may ſafely infer, that a *Society* can never grow rich and flouriſh from ſuch *unſocial* Practices, as Fraud, Plunder and Rapine. The Author himſelf allows, *that Man was not deſign'd by Nature for Rapine*[c]; and again[d], *Man is naturally not rapacious, loves Peace and Quiet*, &c. So evident a Truth he might have prov'd, if he had pleas'd by better Reaſons, than his Unlikeneſs in Shape and outward Make to common Beaſts[e]; and yet even this is ſuch a Compliment to humane Nature, as he would not have been guilty of, but at the Expenſe of ſome other Virtue, which he thought inconſiſtent with *this quiet and peaceable Diſpoſition*, and of which he had Occaſion juſt then to deprive Mankind. What I mean, is *Courage*[f].

It would not be fair to conceal from the Reader, that when the Author has made his own Uſe of this Compliment to them, he endeavours immediately to explain it away again. What *he ſaid laſt, muſt only be underſtood of Man in his* SAVAGE *State; when he becomes a Member of Society, he grows quite another Creature.* What he ſaid laſt, was, that *Man from the Make of his Jaws, the Evenneſs of his Teeth, the Breadth of his Nails, and the Slightneſs of both, could not be deſign'd by Nature for Rapine*, and therefore is a *timorous Animal*; and now he tells you, *this muſt only be underſtood of him in his ſavage State.* As ſoon as the *cunning* Animal is rouſed from his natural *Innocence and Stupidity*[g], he acquires or diſcovers Qualities, that, if *let alone*, he tells you, would make him the moſt hurtful and noxious Creature in the World. In his *Savage* State he is *innocent, quiet* and *peaceable*; but as ſoon as he grows *ſocial*, you muſt take Care of him,

[c] P. 226. l. 12. [d] P. 401. l. 7. [e] P. 226. l. 7.
[f] See Remark R. to p. 226. [g] P. 226.

Or

or he will grow the moſt *ravenous* Beaſt in the World. He ſhould have added, that his *Jaws* ſtrengthen and extend themſelves, and his *Teeth* and *Nails* grow fit for Prey. Here then is room for the Politicians Skill. *The firſt Care of all Governments*, he ſays, *is to curb* or overcome theſe Qualities, which juſt before he ſaid, *Society* (which, in his own Account, implies Government [h]) had raiſed in him. One may defy the moſt diligent Examiner into Political or Moral Writers, to cull from them all, ſuch Inconſiſtencies, as, when put together in any manner he pleaſes, can furniſh out ſuch a monſtrous and unnatural Account as the Author has here given us of the Formation *of Society*.

His Account of the Origin of *moral Virtues* is juſt ſuch another Maſter-piece. He ſays, the Diſtinctions between Good and Evil, Virtue and Vice, were the Contrivance of *Politicians* [i]; and again [k], *Moral Virtues are the political Offspring which Flattery begot upon Pride*, or the Offſpring which the Flattery of Politicians begot upon Pride; and again, *the firſt Rudiments of Morality* were *broached by ſkilful Politicians to render Men uſeful to each other* [l]. Whoever theſe Politicians were, or in what Age or Country ſoever they lived, they were certainly (according to his Scheme) but ſorry Bunglers at their Work; the introducing ſuch a Diſtinction, or concurring in the Production of *Moral Virtues*, being only creating, according to him, ſo many Sources of Diſtreſs and Poverty to a People. If all modern Politicians are as *cunning* as theſe firſt, he may be very right in his Opinion, that *the Governors of Societies, and thoſe in high Stations, are greater Bubbles than any of the reſt* [m].

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[h] P. 399, & 400. By a Society I mean a Body Politick ——— Where under one Head or other Form of Government, &c.

[i] P. 33. l. 18, *and* P. 34. [k] P. 37. [l] P. 33. [m] P. 244.

This Account of *moral Virtues* deſtroys the very Uſe he would make of it. For if it was found from Reaſon or Obſervation, that moral Virtues tended to the Peace, Happineſs and Wealth of a Society, that they *rendred Men* USEFUL *to each other*, it will be the ſame thing in the preſent Caſe, whether the Origin of them were Political, Natural, or Religious. It will be ſufficient, I ſay, that in themſelves they tend to promote thoſe Ends.

The Task our Author has undertaken, is to repreſent Virtue as baſe and contemptible in Theory, and miſchievous in Practice. To do one without the other, was below his comprehenſive Genius. To undervalue it in Theory, he tells you, 'tis *the Offspring of Flattery begot upon Pride* [n]; that ſome of the *worſt* of Men had a hand in the Production of it [o]; that 'tis contrary *to the Impulſe of Nature* [p]; that 'tis a meer State-Engine; that *the firſt Rudiments of Morality were broached by ſkilful Politicians, to render Men* USEFUL *to each other* [q]. To demonſtrate how deſtructive 'tis in *Practice*, he tells you, 'tis not only USELESS, but it *ſpoils*, if it does not *totally diſſolve the Society* [r]; that it reduced *a ſpacious, rich, wiſe, learned, happy and powerful Hive* [s], a Society that rang'd about and enjoy'd the Sweets of the Earth, to a poor, wretched, diſtreſs'd Company, and at laſt confin'd them to the Limits of a hollow Tree [t], where they were left to ſtarve upon their Honeſty; for Honeſty, from the very Nature of it, is *a mean ſtarving* Quality [u]. Who can wonder at this Heap of Blunder, in the Defenſe of two ſuch inconſiſtent Aſſertions? Either of them would have furniſh'd out Ab-

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[n] P. 37. [o] P. 34. [p] Ibid. [q] P. 33.
[r] P. 428. The Moment Evil ceaſes, the Society muſt be ſpoiled, if not totally diſſolved.
[s] P. 1. of the Fable. [t] P. 22.
[u] P. 105. Frugality is like Honeſty, a mean ſtarving Virtue.

ſurdity

ſurdity enough, without tacking the two Contrarieties together.

If what the Author has ſcatter'd up and down in his Book relating to the Origin of moral Virtues, and the Politicians Management in forming a Society, were put together, it would furniſh out ſome ſuch Account as this; for to inſiſt upon every Blunder by it ſelf would be tireſome.

'In a Country not yet diſcover'd by the reſt of Man-
'kind, and before the Jewiſh or Chriſtian Account of
'the World's Creation, there dwelt great Numbers of
'a ſort of Animal call'd Man. But before I proceed
'to relate the following Adventures, it will be neceſ-
'ſary to obviate an Objection, that I foreſee will be
'made either by the critical or religious Reader, con-
'cerning the Circumſtances of Time and Place. Now
'thoſe I affirm may be true, notwithſtanding what
'*The Bible* ſays to the contrary; BECAUSE the Ani-
'mals I am ſpeaking of, were neither Jews nor Chri-
'ſtians [w].

'Man in his ſavage Nature was a peaceable, quiet [x],
'timorous [y], extraordinary ſelfiſh, headſtrong, cunning [z],
'innocent, ſtupid [a], ſilly [b] Animal.

'His only Appetites were to preſerve himſelf and
'his Species [c]; which as they were not very violent,
'were eaſily ſatisfied [d]. He had nothing of that Com-
'pound of various Paſſions, all which, as they have
'been provok'd and come uppermoſt, have ſince go-
'verned him by turns, whether he would or no [e]. Or

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[w] *Introduction*, and p. 35.
[x] P. 226. Man, as he is a fearful Animal, loves Peace and Quiet.
[y] P. 226. Man muſt conſequently be a timorous Animal.
[z] P. 28. Man being an extraordinary ſelfiſh, headſtrong, as well as cunning Animal.
[a] P. 226. He is rouſed from his natural Innocence and Stupidity.
[b] P. 237. So ſilly a Creature is Man.
[c] P. 219. [d] P. 226. [e] *The Introduction*.

'if

'if he had, they had forever lain aſleep and remain'd 'concealed, had not a memorable Accident rouſed 'them up and call'd them out into publick Appearance[f]. 'N. B. I uſe the Word *Paſſions* for Paſſions and Vices 'promiſcuouſly.

'It happen'd thus: A certain *Politician*, who was 'himſelf at this time one of the innocent, ſtupid Ani-'mals I deſcrib'd above (and at the ſame time a Wi-'zard or a Conjurer, as I will prove by and by) hav-'ing thoroughly examin'd all the Strength and Frailties 'of humane Nature[g], took it into his Head to civilize 'Man, and make him a ſocial Creature. This he did 'with a generous Deſign to make Man uſeful to him-'ſelf and others. His Deſign in this was chiefly am-'bitious, intending by it to eſtabliſh a Juriſdiction 'over him, and to make him a Slave by the eaſieſt and 'ſecureſt Methods poſſible[h].

'The Minute he became a Member of Society, 'Pride, Envy, Avarice and Ambition catched hold of 'him[i]; the cunning Animal is rouſed from his na-'tural Innocence and Stupidity, his Knowledge en-'creaſes, his Deſires are enlarged, and conſequently 'his Wants and Appetites are multiplied; the leaſt 'Diſappointment in all theſe makes him grow very

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[f] P. 226. What I ſaid laſt, &c. [g] P. 29.

[h] P. 33. The firſt Rudiments of Morality broached by skilful Politicians, to render Men uſeful to each other as well as tractable, were chiefly contriv'd that the Ambitious might——govern vaſt Numbers of them with greater Eaſe and Security.

[i] P. 226, & 227. What I ſaid laſt muſt only be underſtood of Man in his ſavage State; for if we examine him as a Member of a Society, and a taught Animal, we ſhall find him quite another Creature: As ſoon as his Pride has Room to play, and Envy, Avarice and Ambition begin to catch hold of him, he is rouſed from his natural Innocence and Stupidity. As his Knowledge encreaſes, his Deſires are enlarged, and conſequently his Wants and Appetites are multiplied: Hence it muſt follow, that he will be often croſs'd in the Purſuit of them, and meet with abundance more Diſappointments to ſtir up his Anger in this than his former Condition; and Man would in a little time become the moſt hurtful and noxious Creature in the World, if let alone, &c.

'fierce and angry[k]: What a Legion of Devils had *the* '*Politician* raiſed here! Who would have thought this 'was the way to render Men tractable[l]? The Poli- 'tician was aware of the Difficulty he was in. He 'found that with theſe mutinous Paſſions once 'rouſed, Man would grow the moſt hurtful and noxious 'Creature in the World, if let alone[m]; and what is 'worſe, would not tamely ſubmit to his Juriſdiction; 'Theſe being probably given him by Nature, as ſo many 'Guards upon his Liberty. 'Twas neceſſary therefore 'that he ſhould part with theſe and all his other na- 'tural Appetites ſome way or other. 'Twas impoſ- 'ſible by Force alone to take them away and make 'him tractable[n]. The chief thing he labour'd, was to 'coax them out of him, by telling him 'twas more be- 'neficial to every body to conquer than to indulge 'them[o]; that is, to conquer them in the manner he 'ſhould direct; that 'twas better to prefer the Good of

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[k] P. 227. The Provocations he will receive to Anger, will be infinite in the civilis'd State.

[l] P. 33. To render Men——tractable.

[m] P. 227.

[n] P. 28. It is impoſſible by Force alone to make him tractable.

[o] P. 28. The chief Thing therefore, which Lawgivers and other wiſe Men, that have labour'd for the Eſtabliſhment of Society, have endeavour'd, has been to make the People they were to govern, believe, that it was more beneficial for every body to conquer than indulge his Appetites, and much better to mind the Publick than what ſeem'd his private Intereſt. As this has always been a very difficult Task, ſo no Wit or Eloquence has been left untried to compaſs it; and the Moraliſts and Philoſophers of all Ages employed their utmoſt Skill to prove the Truth of ſo uſeful an Aſſertion. But whether Mankind would have ever believ'd it or not, it is not likely that any body could have perſuaded them to diſapprove of their natural Inclinations, or prefer the Good of others to their own, if at the ſame time he had not ſhew'd them an Equivalent to be enjoy'd as a Reward for the Violence, which by ſo doing they of neceſſity muſt commit upon themſelves. Thoſe that have undertaken to civilize Mankind, were not ignorant of this; but being unable to give ſo many real Rewards as would ſatisfy all Perſons for every individual Action, they were forc'd to contrive an imaginary one, that as a general Equivalent for the Trouble of Self-denial ſhould ſerve on all Occaſions, and without coſting any thing either to themſelves or others, be yet a moſt acceptable Recompence to the Receivers.

' others to their own. This, you will ſay, was a very
' difficult Task, and therefore the Politician ſet his
' Wit and Eloquence to work, to compaſs it; but Man
' being an extraordinary ſelfiſh and headſtrong, as well
' as cunning Animal, was reſolv'd not to be perſuaded
' to prefer the Good of others to his own, or to be
' wheedled out of his Innocence and Stupidity, his In-
' clinations, and Liberty, without being ſhewed an *Equi-*
' *valent*. The Politician was not ignorant of this, but
' being unable to give ſo many real Rewards as would
' ſatisfy all Perſons, he contrived an Imaginary one,
' that ſhould ſerve on all Occaſions, coſt nothing, and
' yet be greedily catch'd at as a mighty Prize. At laſt
' he hit upon one that tickled their Fancies to his
' Purpoſe. What d'ye think the Equivalent was? Why
' he told him, that Man was a ſublime Creature, and
' better than a Brute, if he would ſubdue his Appetites,
' and do as he bid him[p]. Then he divided the whole
' Species into two Claſſes, and made Proclamation,
' that whoever would not ſubdue his Appetites, and
' give them up to his Management, was an abject, low
' minded[q], vile, groveling Wretch, the Droſs of his
' kind, had only the Shape of a Man, and was the
' next ſtep to a Brute[r], and therefore ſhould belong to
' *this* Claſs; but whoſoever would do as he bid him,
' was a brave Fellow, a lofty, noble-minded Creature[s],
' and ſhould belong to the *other*.

' Now 'tis hardly to be doubted, but Leſſons and
' Remonſtrances, ſo skilfully adapted[t], muſt needs not

[p] P. 30. [q] Ibid. [r] Ibid. [s] Ibid.

[t] P. 31 & 32. It is hardly to be doubted but Leſſons and Remonſtrances, ſo skilfully adapted to the good Opinion Man has of himſelf, as thoſe I have mention'd, muſt, if ſcatter'd amongſt a Multitude, not only gain the Aſſent of moſt of them, as to the ſpeculative Part, but likewiſe induce ſeveral, eſpecially the fierceſt, moſt reſolute, and beſt among them, to endure a thouſand Inconveniencies, and undergo as many Hardſhips, that they may have the Pleaſure of counting themſelves Men of the ſecond Claſs, and conſequently appropriating to themſelves all the Excellencies they have heard of it.

'only make this extraordinary ſelfiſh and headſtrong, as 'well as cunning Animal [v], give up his Liberty, and 'prefer the Good of others to his own [w]; but like-'wiſe induce the beſt among them to endure a thouſand 'Inconveniencies, and undergo as many Hardſhips, 'that they might have the Pleaſure of counting them-'ſelves Men of the Second Claſs.

'But the Reader perhaps will wonder how this Mat-'ter was brought about ſo eaſily, and eſpecially how 'the Politician (Man being yet in his State of Inno-'cence and Stupidity) ſhould ſhew ſo much Stratagem 'and Cunning. To this I anſwer, in the Firſt Place, 'that the Politician was no Modern, and his Country 'I have not mention'd; beſides that it can't be ima-'gin'd that he could have executed the Matter quite ſo 'cleverly, if I had not taught him his Politicks. I 'may ſay this by a *Prolepſis*, very pardonable in a 'Philoſophical [x], or rather an Hiſtorico-Philoſophi-'cal Treatiſe. In the Second Place, I have not yet 'told the Reader, that the Politician and his 'Tools had all this while the Government to back 'them; and I lay it down as a Rule, that when Law-'givers and other wiſe Men labour for the Eſta-'bliſhment of Society [y], and to civilize Mankind [z], they 'will never make any thing of it without the Authori-'ty of the Government on their Side [a], ſo as the People 'may be kept in Awe by the Power of their Rulers [b].

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[v] P. 28. [w] Ibid.

[x] P. 469. The Beginning of the Proſe is altogether Philoſophical.

[y] P. 28. [z] Ibid.

[a] P. 32. And having ever the Authority of the Government on their Side.

[b] P. 33. Others be afraid of the Reſolution and Proweſs of thoſe of the ſecond Claſs, and that all of them were kept in Awe by the Power of their Rulers. *That this is the plain and natural Meaning of the Author, will be confirmed yet further from the firſt Words of the very next Paragraph.* This was (or at leaſt might have been) the Manner after which ſavage Man was broke; from whence 'tis evident, that the firſt Rudiments of Morality ——were contrived that the Ambitious might——govern, *&c.*

'But

'But what mainly contributed to compleat the Po-
'litician's Succeſs, and ſhewed his Contrivance the
'moſt, was a Circumſtance yet behind, at leaſt not yet
'particularly diſplay'd. He obſerv'd there was a cer-
'tain Male Creature, call'd *Flattery*, and a certain Fe-
'male one, call'd *Pride*; and prying thoroughly into the
'Nature and Conſtitution[c] of theſe two, he thought if
'he could but bring about an amorous Commerce be-
'tween them, ſomewhat would come of it that might
'prove of excellent Uſe to him, and draw the Liber-
'ties of the People into his own Hand. The Intrigue
'ſucceeded to his Wiſhes; Pride grew in Love with
'Flattery, and in due Time, out comes a numerous
'Offſpring, call'd *Moral Virtues*[d]. There were ſeveral
'who aſſiſted at the Birth, and what's moſt wonderful,
'ſome of the veriеſt Raſcals of their Kind had a hand
'in it. Theſe were they that chiefly found their Account
'in the whole Matter. They did the Office of our
'Goſſips *: Such, wanting Pride and Reſolution to buoy
'them up in mortifying of what was deareſt to them,
'and yet aſhamed of confeſſing they could not; in their
'own Defence, ſome admiring in others what they
'found wanting in themſelves[e], others afraid of the

[c] P. 29. They thoroughly examin'd all the Strength and Frailties of our Nature, and obſerving, *&c.*

[d] P. 37. The Moral virtues are the political Offspring which Flattery beget upon Pride.

* P. 34. They agreed——to give the Name of *Virtue*, &c.

[e] P. 32. Thoſe who wanted a ſufficient Stock of either Pride or Reſolution to buoy them up in mortifying of what was deareſt to them, followed the ſenſual Dictates of Nature, would yet be aſham'd of confeſſing themſelves to be thoſe deſpicable Wretches that belong'd to the inferiour Claſs, and were generally reckon'd to be ſo little remov'd from Brutes; and that therefore in their own Defence they would ſay, as others did, and hiding their own Imperfections as well as they could, cry up Self-denial and publick Spiritedneſs as much as any: For it is highly probable, that ſome of them, convinced by the real Proofs of Fortitude and Self-Conqueſt they had ſeen, would admire in others what they found wanting in themſelves; others be afraid of the Reſolution and Proweſs of thoſe of the Second Claſs, and that all of them were kept in Awe by the Power of their Rulers, wherefore it is reaſonable to think, that none of them (whatever they thought in themſelves) would dare openly contradict, what by every body elſe was thought criminal to doubt of.

'Reſo-

'Reſolution and Proweſs of the Virtuous, and kept in 'Awe by the Power of their Rulers, not daring openly 'to contradict what by every body elſe was thought 'criminal to doubt of; and in the Gratification of their 'Appetites, being continually croſs'd by others of the 'ſame Stamp; and by checking their Inclinations, or 'following them with more Circumſpection, avoi-'ding a world of Troubles, and eſcaping many Calami-'ties [f], finding they received the Benefit of virtuous 'Actions, and in order to leſſen the Number of Ri-'vals in Roguery, and Sharers in the Pleaſure of it [g]; 'and it being upon the whole (I ſay, for all theſe Rea-'ſons, or ſome of theſe Reaſons, or ſome ſuch other 'Reaſons) the Intereſt of the very worſt of them more 'than any to encourage the Cheat, they agreed to call 'all natural Actions, VICES, and to give the Name of 'VIRTUE to every Performance contrary to the Im-'pulſe of Nature [h].

'—'Tis plain from hence, that there were *Vices* in the 'World, before there were any *Virtues*. For the way the 'Politician took to ſatisfy his *Ambition*, was by play-'ing the Engine of *Flattery* upon *Pride*, from whence 'came Moral Virtues [i]; or as I have expreſs'd it in

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[f] P. 33. For even thoſe who only ſtrove to gratify their Appetites, being continually croſs'd by others of the ſame Stamp, could not but obſerve, that whenever they checked their Inclinations or but followed them with more Circumſpection, they avoided a world of Troubles, and often eſcaped many of the Calamities that generally attended the too eager Purſuit after Pleaſure.

[g] P. 34. Firſt, they received, as well as others, the Benefit of thoſe Actions that were done for the Good of the whole Society, and conſequently could not forbear wiſhing well to thoſe of the ſuperior Claſs that perform'd them. Secondly, the more intent they were in ſeeking their own Advantage, without regard to others, the more they were hourly convinced, that none ſtood ſo much in their way as thoſe that were moſt like themſelves.

[h] P. 34. It being the Intereſt then of the very worſt of them, more than any——they agreed with the reſt, to call every thing, which without regard to the Publick, Man ſhould commit to gratify any of his Appetites, VICE——And to give the Name of Virtue to every Performance, by which Man, contrary to the Impulſe of Nature, &c. P. 37.

'an-

'another Place, there were *good*[k] and *bad* Men, before 'there was any Rule to judge of Goodneſs or Badneſs 'by; there was Tranſgreſſion before there was a Law: 'for ſome of the *worſt* of Men had a hand in the firſt 'Production of Virtue[l]. This may ſeem a little ſtrange, 'but I told the Reader, there was Witchcraft in it. 'Perhaps the Generality of the People won't fall in with 'theſe Notions. So much the better. *Apage vulgus*, 'ſay I. The only Uſe I make of them, is to ſerve as a 'Touch-ſtone. Whatever Opinion they fall in with, 'that's falſe, think I to my ſelf[m], and in this lies the 'great Myſtery of *Free-thinking*. To return then.

'Theſe Moral Virtues were thought by the Vulgar 'to make a beautiful Figure, and were obſerv'd to de-'light much in each other's Company. But 'tis no 'wonder, that they who were let into the Secret of 'the Intrigue juſt now mention'd, and by that means 'knew their baſe Original[n], ſhould not be able to diſ-'cover ſuch Charms, either in them, or their Votaries[o]. 'Tis plain, they were a moſt unnatural Brood; for the 'Minute they came into the World, they went to work, 'and endeavour'd to deſtroy and root out their Parents, 'with all other Vices, their Relations, and a numerous 'Crowd of Dependants, Tradeſmen, Artificers, &c. 'that ſubſiſted entirely upon them; who (as I flatter my

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[k] P. 32. Eſpecially the fierceſt, moſt reſolute, and *Beſt* among them.

[l] P. 34. It being the Intereſt then of the very worſt of them——they agreed——to give, &c.

[m] P. 469, & 470. The greateſt Compliment I have made them has been, *Apage vulgus*. But as nothing (I ſay p. 257.) would more clearly demonſtrate the Falſity of my Notions than that the Generality of the People ſhould fall in with them, &c.

[n] P. 37. The political Offspring, which Flattery begot upon Pride. *And* P. 34. It being the Intereſt then of the very worſt of them——they agreed——to give the Name of Virtue.

[o] *Speaking of the Effects an Univerſal Honeſty had upon Men, and the Miſchiefs they felt from it, he ſays,* p. 15.

Which now in Silence they confeſs,
By bluſhing at their Uglineſs.

'ſelf

'ſelf to have demonſtrated [p]) all vaniſh'd with their 'Tools and Implements, in proportion as People paid 'their Court to theſe miſchievous Creatures [q].

'But the Production of one of theſe Virtues hav-'ing ſome ſingular Circumſtances attending it, and 'ſhewing in an extraordinary manner the Politician's 'Genius, I can't but think it will divert Perſons of un-'queſtionable good Senſe [r], and pleaſe Men of any to-'lerable Taſte [s], to have a more particular Account 'of it.

'Man had one uſeful Paſſion about him, and 'twas 'the only one he had, called *Fear*; for as to his Anger, 'the Society had no manner of Occaſion for it [t]. He 'had another Paſſion, call'd *Anger*, altogether as uſe-'ful as *Fear*. The Society had occaſion for it when-'ever they wanted to extend their Limits further [v]; in 'which Caſe 'twas the *Politician*'s Buſineſs to lay their '*Fear*, and raiſe up *Anger* in the room of it [w]. If any 'curious Reader ſhould ask, how the Politician got the 'Cuſtody of theſe Paſſions, I anſwer once for all, that 'he bewitch'd them out of Men, by an Engine he had 'contrived on purpoſe [x]; and when he had once got

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[p] P. 427, & 428. I flatter my ſelf to have demonſtrated——that the moment Evil ceaſes, the Society muſt be ſpoiled, if not totally diſſolved.

[q] P. 14. Firſt march'd ſome Smiths, *&c.*

[r] P. 467. Such as it is (*The Fable of the Bees*) I am ſatisfied that it has diverted Perſons of unqueſtionable good Senſe.

[s] P. 472. I always thought it would pleaſe Men of any tolerable Taſte.

[t] P. 227 & 228. The only uſeful Paſſion then that Man is poſſeſs'd of toward the Peace and Quiet of a Society, is his Fear;——for how uſeful ſoever Anger may be to Man, as he is a ſingle Creature by himſelf, yet the Society has no manner of occaſion for it.

[u] P. 228. The Society may have occaſion to extend their Limits further. The Politician now muſt alter his Meaſures, and take off ſome of Man's Fears. *And* p. 229. You may ſoon ſtir them up to Anger, and while that laſt's, they will fight with greater Obſtinacy than any diſciplin'd Troops. *And* p. 221. Whilſt this Fear laſts, no Creature can fight offenſively. The moſt contrary to it (Fear) is *Anger*.

[w] P. 228. The Politician now muſt alter his Meaſures; *and* p. 229. Stir them up to Anger, *&c.*

[x] P. 29. Making uſe of this bewitching Engine; and p. 37. The Witch-craft of Flattery.

'them ſafe, 'twas eaſy to keep them. 'Twas but put-
'ting them into little ſeparate Apartments imperceptible to common Eyes; and having a Trap-door to
'them all. So whenever he whiſtled, or lifted up the
'Door, they roſe, and ſunk again, like the Sprites in a
'modern Farce. 'Twas Anger then, that carried them
'out to Combat, and made them fight with greater
'Obſtinacy than any diſciplin'd Troops[y]; but as this
'was a ſudden, flaſhy, ſhort-liv'd Thing, and apt to de-
'ſert them in time of greateſt Danger, in which Caſe
'Fear always ſeiz'd them again, and made them run
'away to a Man[z]; *The Politician*, I ſay, obſerving
'this, found he had occaſion for ſomething more ſtea-
'dy, conſtant and uniform in the room of it. This
'was call'd *Courage*. 'Tis no matter, whether there
'ever was ſuch a thing in Nature[a]. The Politician
'told them there was, that the Generality of them *had*
'it, or *ought* to have it[b]. Some of them immediately
'took the hint, and ſwore, they felt it heaving in their
'Breaſts[c]. Theſe the Politician made his Bullies. He
'ſent them about to threaten and terrify all the Cow-
'ards they met, and to maintain againſt all Gainſay-
'ers, that they were Men of Courage[d]. Then he put

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[y] P. 229.

[z] P. 229. If any thing happens that was unforeſeen, &c. Fear ſeizes them, diſarms their Anger, and makes them run away to a Man.

[a] P. 219. Let us examine what Courage conſiſts in, and whether it be as moſt People will have it, a real ſomething, &c.

[b] P. 230. If a Politician ſhould tell them, that the Generality of Men had within them a Principle of Valour diſtinct from Anger——That they who had the moſt of it, were the moſt valuable of their Kind, it is very likely, conſidering what has been ſaid, that moſt of them, tho' they felt nothing of this Principle, would ſwallow it for Truth——and imagine they felt it heaving in their Breaſts. [c] Ibid.

[d] P. 231. If but one in ten can be perſuaded openly to declare, that he is poſſeſs'd of this Principle, and maintain it againſt all Gainſayers, there will ſoon be half a Dozen that ſhall aſſert the ſame. Whoever has once owned it is engag'd, the Politician has nothing to do but to take all imaginable Care to flatter the Pride of thoſe that brag of, and are willing to ſtand by it.

'a fine Garland of Feathers about their Heads [e], and 'told every body, that if they would joyn theſe valiant 'Gentlemen, and ſwear they felt Courage within them, 'they ſhould all wear the ſame, and if they happen'd 'to be knock'd on the Head, for ſtanding to their Prin-'ciples (as 'twas likely moſt of them would) they 'ſhould all lie in a huge, commodious, fine, new-fa-'ſhion'd Bed, that no body had ever lain in before, 'called *the Bed of Honour*, and have Dirges ſung over 'them, as ſoon as ever they loſt their Hearing [f].

'By the Help of ſuch high-ſounding Words [g], the 'Project took, and it became ſo faſhionable, that all 'the World ſwore they had Courage, and rather than 'diſcover the Reality of their Hearts (for they trembled 'all this while) the poor Creatures ſuffer'd themſelves 'to be cut to pieces, and would never own, they did 'not feel Courage heaving within them [h]. Thus Cou-'rage firſt came into the World, and whenever there's 'a Want of it, the ſame Secret to raiſe it, which I 'firſt found out, and made publick, with a ſmall Al-'teration, will raiſe it again [i]. Or as I have expreſs'd it 'elſewhere, the ſame Receipt, to make Courage, will 'ſerve to make it again [k]. And this Secret, as I have 'made it publick, I leave to all State-Cooks to the 'End of the World. 'Tis almoſt *infallible*, *ex præ-'ſcripto*——

'Beſides this ſpurious ſort, there's a true genuine, 'natural, rational *Courage*; this is what I juſt now

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[e] P. 232. Then put Feathers in their Caps.

[f] P. 233. Thoſe that were killed, ought to be artfully lamented——for to pay Honours to the Dead, will ever be a ſure Method to make Bubbles of the Living.

[g] P. 232 and 233. Talk——of the Bed of Honour, and ſuch like high-ſounding Words.

[h] P. 231. Till at laſt the Fear of diſcovering the Reality of his Heart ——outdoes the Fear of Death it ſelf.

[i] P. 383. The Secret to raiſe a Courage, as I have made it publick in *Remark R.* is almoſt infallible.

[k] How artificial Courage is made, *The Contents to the Firſt Edition.*

call'd

'call'd Anger, and ſeldom or never appears either in 'Man or Beaſt, but when 'tis excited by Hunger or 'Luſt[l]. As theſe Appetites in Men are very weak, and 'eaſily ſatisfied[m]; ſo there's little or no true Courage 'among them, except among the *Clergy*, who are born 'with a natural Tendency, to a great Share of this Cou-'rage, as I have prov'd elſewhere[n].

'This was the Manner, after which ſavage Man was 'broke, at leaſt it might have been[o], for aught you 'can prove by any Witneſſes that were preſent upon 'that Occaſion.

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[l] P. 225. The two principal Appetites which diſappointed can ſtir up this laſt named Paſſion (*Anger*) are *Hunger* and *Luſt*. *And again*, p. 226. What we call Proweſs or natural Courage in Creatures, is nothing but the Effect of Anger, and that all fierce Animals muſt be either very ravenous or very luſtful, if not both. Let us now examine what by this Rule we ought to judge of our own Species.

[m] P. 226.

[n] P. 165. The Reverend Divines of all Sects, even of the moſt reformed Churches in all Countries, take care with the *Cyclops Evangeliphorus*, Firſt, *Ut ventri bene ſit*; and afterwards, *ne quid deſit iis quæ ſub ventre ſunt*.

The Reader perhaps will deſire to know who this Cyclops Evangeliphorus *was, that the Author mentions to* Engliſhmen, *as familiarly as he would the Names of* Robin Hood, *or* Sir John Falſtaff. *He muſt know then that* Cannius *and* Polyphemus *are the two Perſons, in one of* Eraſmus's *Colloquies. This* Polyphemus *had* the Goſpel *in his Hand, when his Acquaintance met him; and* Cannius *knowing that his way of Life was not very agreeable to the Precepts of it, tells him in ridicule, that he ſhould not any longer be called* Polyphemus, *but* Evangeliophorus, pro Polyphemo dicendus eſt Evangeliophorus, *as one before had been called* Chriſtophorus. *The Colloquy it ſelf* (*becauſe* Polyphemus *happens to be the Name of one of the* Cyclopes) *is entituled*, Cyclops, *ſive* Evangeliophorus. *Our Author, not content with this, tacks them both together, and calls him, by a ſmall Miſtake* (*excuſable enough in the writing ſo long a Word*) Cyclops Evangeliphorus, *inſtead of* Evangeliophorus. *Words that fill the Mouth very well, and which he ſeems to have put together for the Edification of thoſe, who, with the old Fellow in* Love makes the Man, HONOUR THE SOUND OF GREEK.

[o] P. 33. This was (or at leaſt might have been) the manner after which ſavage Man was broke.

SECT. III.

THE general Position laid down by the Author, is, that *Private Vices* are *Publick Benefits*. The Truth of this he undertakes to demonstrate in particular Instances. But the Vice he has chiefly fixed upon for this Purpose, is *Luxury*, which he endeavours to prove, is absolutely necessary to the Wealth and Happiness of a People.

To judge of the Weight of what he has offer'd in Defence of this, it should be known first what is *Luxury*; for he seems to question, whether there really be such a Thing in Nature [p]. If it consists barely in the Possession or Enjoyment of *Abundance*, it will be allowed him, that it is not a *publick Disadvantage*; but then 'tis as certain, 'tis not *a private Vice*. 'Tis ridiculous then to say, that the ornamental Arts would cease, or lessen, by a general Practice of Virtue [q]. It is so far from being true (as he pretends) that *no new Houses would be built* [r]; that on the contrary People might reasonably afford to employ a much greater Expence, both in building and adorning them, as the great and necessary Expences, that every Man is now put to, in providing against the Inconveniencies of Roguery, would be saved by this general Practice of Virtue.

What greater Immorality is there in the Work of the finest Chizel, or the nicest Plane, than in that of an *Ax* or a *Saw* [s]? Painting and Gilding have no more Dishonesty in them, than the Use of Dirt or Stones. All the Fruits of the Earth were design'd for the Service of Man, and his Skill and Capacity in the Improvement

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[p] Either every thing is Luxury, or else there is none at all. *Contents of the first Edit. and* p. 124. *last Edit.* in one Sense, *&c.*

[q] *See* the Fable, *and his* Remark S.

[r] P. 347. [s] Ibid.

of them were given him by Nature, to make his preſent Being eaſy and agreeable to him, in every thing, which does not interfere with the Happineſs of a future one. If *Frugality* would not employ ſo many Hands, *Generoſity*, (eſpecially when aſſiſted by an Elegance of Taſte) which is equally a Virtue, certainly would. There is a Latitude, even in Virtues, which leaves room for all the Conveniencies, that he ſuppoſes are the Effects of the two Extreams of Avarice and Prodigality. 'Tis a trifling and perverſe way of reaſoning, to ſay, that a Man's *Frugality*[t] does not ſupply Employments and a Maintenance to the Poor; and that he does not ſave up Wealth by the Help of his *Liberality*. To ſay, that the *Weight* of Iron does not enable it to reſiſt the Impulſe of other Bodies; nor its *Hardneſs* carry it downwards, would be full as judicious a Remark. It is enough, that Qualities would ſtill remain very conſiſtent with Virtue, that would give the ſame Life to the Liberal Arts, and afford equal Encouragement to Induſtry. What ſhould make him think, that an Univerſal *Frugality* muſt needs be the Conſequence of *a National Virtue*, any more than an Univerſal *Liberality*?

But if Luxury conſiſts in the Exceſs of Eaſe and Pleaſure, or in the Abuſe of Plenty, or in a greater Expence than is proportion'd to Peoples Circumſtances and Fortunes (for what is commonly called *Luxury*, includes all theſe) 'tis both *a private Vice*, and *a publick Prejudice*. Too much Indulgence in Eaſe and ſenſual Pleaſure, may indiſpoſe the Mind for Reflection, and the Body for Labour; beſides a Train of other Vices they naturally lead to. A Bed of Down may be unhealthy, and conſequently a piece of *Luxury*, when

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[t] P. 105 & 106. 'Tis an idle dreaming Virtue that employs no Hands.

one

one of harder Make, tho' altogether as coſtly, may *not* be ſo. For the ſame Reaſon, rich Sawces may be *Luxury*, when the ſame Expence in a plainer Diſh deſerves the Name as little as undreſs'd Roots. Where any Cruelty is exercis'd, or any unneceſſary Pain given to Animals, in preparing them for Food, 'tis *Luxury* with the Addition of a much greater Crime. Theſe ſeveral ſorts of Luxury tend to debauch and corrupt a People, and render them unfit for that Labour and Service, by the Help of which the Wealth of the Society is acquired.

On the other hand, I believe it will be found that nothing is truly and properly *Luxury*, that is conſiſtent with a Man's Health or Fortune, or that is not attended with the Commiſſion of ſome other Crime, or the Neglect of ſome other Duty.

But when to the Sorts of Luxury mention'd above, is join'd a greater Expence than Men's Fortunes will allow of, the Poverty and Ruin of a Country are the unavoidable Effects of it. In this Senſe of the Word, the Luxury of one Age affects future ones as certainly and neceſſarily as the Extravagance of a *Father* makes the *Son* poor, or as the Exceſs of Expence *one* Year produces a greater Scarcity *the next*.

But let us examine more particularly whether *Laviſhneſs* be, as he repreſents it, *a moſt beneficial Vice to the Publick* [v], whether it be the likelieſt Method to make *a wealthy Nation formidable to their Neighbours, and come up to the Character of the Bees in the Fable, of which* he tells you [w], he *ſaid that*

" Flatter'd in Peace, and fear'd in Wars,
" They were th' Eſteem of Foreigners.

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[v] *Contents to the firſt Edit.* [w] P. 125. *laſt Edit.*

If

If publick Wealth conſiſts in the Product or Profits of a Soil, which are chiefly conſumable Commodities, 'tis plain the *more* there is conſumed, the *leſs* muſt remain. Suppoſe a ſmall Community, conſiſting only of half a dozen Families, the Soil of each Man's Eſtate producing ſomewhat different from the reſt: Suppoſe their Commerce confined to themſelves: If one of theſe Families is more luxurious or expenſive than the reſt, the Property of that Family muſt by degrees be divided among their more *frugal* Neighbours: And this from the Nature and Courſe of Trade it ſelf. 'Tis the ſame in any larger Body; only that the larger it is, the longer Time it will require to bring this about. But the Effect in both Caſes is equally certain and inevitable. The Progreſs it will take, is eaſy to be ſhewn. If one Nation gives into a greater Luxury than their Neighbours, it muſt be by a greater Expence of *their own* Commodities; in which Caſe the fewer will remain to purchaſe *foreign* Commodities with: Or it muſt be by an Expence of foreign Commodities, which muſt be paid for ſome way or other; and 'tis not a Severity of Laws againſt the Exportation of Money, that can prevent their being paid for. The only Effects ſuch Laws can have, is to prevent the *Luxury* it ſelf. For as Foreigners would expect to be paid for their Goods ſome way or other, the Difficulty of being able to pay for them would naturally make the Demand for them leſs; and conſequently reſtrain the Expence and Luxury which occaſioned that Demand. But if ever a national Luxury could arrive to that Height, as to make People deſpiſe thoſe Dangers, and the Laws themſelves prove ineffectual, they muſt by degrees part with their Money (as being eaſily exported) and afterwards with the reſt of their Property to pay for thoſe Commodities that ſupply their Luxury. Not only the Produce of their Soil, but the very Property

perty of their Soil, for want of exportable Commodities, must in Time be given in Exchange to such (if there be any such) as will continue to supply them with Goods. I don't mean by this, that 'tis probable, or even possible, that such a Case should happen; *because* 'tis *impossible* a People should ever indulge their Luxury so far. The Poverty and Extremity they would see themselves reduced to, would naturally make them alter their Conduct, and grow frugal, long before their Luxury would reach this Height. But 'tis a Demonstration, that *as far* as their Luxury extended, just *so far* it would impoverish them, and by the Steps and Methods described above. Before a National Luxury was grown to such an Excess, a Government would find themselves under an absolute Necessity, by the strictest Care and most severe Penalties, not only to forbid the Exportation of their Coin, but the Importation of any Goods whatever; that is, they must forbid all foreign Trade, and oblige the People to live upon the Produce of their own Soil; and such Laws would truly and properly be deemed *sumptuary* Laws. Or rather the Necessities People would find themselves reduced to, would put them upon these Measures without the Interposition of their Governors.

Consider this in another Light. 'Tis a received Maxim in every trading Country, that the Imports must never exceed the Exports; and that when they do, their Trade is prejudicial to them. Why is it prejudicial? or how does it appear to be so? Because such Exceedings of Imports are a Demonstration that the People of that Country spend more than the Product or Profits of their own Soil: That is, they are Extravagant and Luxurious. They must part with a Share of their Money, to balance Accounts with their corresponding Traders; for balanced they must be some way or other. Every Year this Trade continues, so much the

poorer

poorer they grow by it, and ſo much the leſs Money or Property remains among them.

What I have hitherto ſaid, goes upon a Suppoſition, that the Wealth of a People conſiſts in the Produce or Profits of their Soil. If the *Dutch* are brought as an Inſtance to prove the contrary, the *Land* there (if the Author ſays true) being not *enough to feed the tenth Part of the Inhabitants* [x], I anſwer, that the Author when he ſays this, forgets the Land of their foreign Settlements, which certainly ought to be conſider'd as a Part of their Soil. 'Tis chiefly with the Produce of thoſe Settlements, that the *Dutch* purchaſe the Proviſions of other Countries. For otherwiſe 'tis not to be imagined they could be weak enough to leave ſo much of their little Home-Soil uncultivated [y]. And again, as they make a great Advantage from their Fiſhery, thoſe Parts of the Sea where they have a Right of Fiſhery, are properly a Part of their Soil. The Wealth of *Holland* then muſt conſiſt in the Produce of their own Soil; or, which is the ſame thing, in the Workmanſhip of Materials grown in other Countries, which muſt be had by the Exchange of Goods of their own Growth for them: And it makes no Difference in the preſent Account, whether the Wealth of a Country ariſes from the Extent and *natural* Richneſs of its own Soil, or from the *artificial* Advantages that are made of it, by the Skill, Induſtry, and Frugality of the Inhabitants.

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[x] P. 203. *N. B.* What the Author ſays here of the Scarcity of Land and the Richneſs of every Inch of it, is expreſly affirmed of the *Country* of the *Dutch*, or the ſeven Provinces. But it happens to be more for his Purpoſe two Pages after to contradict this, and confine what he ſaid to the Province of *Holland* only. In that particular Province, though they are very rich, they are obliged to be very frugal, becauſe they want Land; but in two other Provinces, though poorer than the firſt, they are *leſs ſtingy and more hoſpitable*. His View in all this is to acquaint *Engliſhmen*, that though they are never ſo poor, they may be as Luxurious as they pleaſe, becauſe there is a great deal of Ground here.

[y] P. 205. Abundance of Ground lies waſte.

'Tis to this *Frugality and Virtue of their Anceſtors* (though Frugality indeed is the chief Virtue they have hitherto been famous for) *that the Dutch may* very reaſonably, and always will *aſcribe their preſent Grandeur* [1]. What aukward Pains does he take to prevent any publick Happineſs being aſcrib'd to *moral Virtues*? 'Tis owing, ſays he, *to their political Wiſdom in poſtponing every Thing to Merchandize and Navigation, the unlimited Liberty of Conſcience*, &c. [2]. Be it ſo; but could theſe have made them rich, if their *Frugality* had not enabled them to make the moſt of thoſe Advantages, by keeping that Wealth among themſelves which this Conduct of theirs had brought them in? Could they have continued to be rich, if their *Luxury* had conſumed this Wealth faſter than their Trade brought it in? and if not, would their unlimited Liberty of Conſcience have paid the Balance of their Accounts? If he knew what the Words *national Luxury* or *national Frugality* meant, the Truth of this would be Self-evident. By the firſt, as oppoſed to the laſt, is meant a People's ſpending more than their Income; in which Caſe *Trade* is ſo far from making them amends, that 'tis the very Misfortune they labour under. Trade is the very Means to ſupply their Luxury, without which they could *not* ſpend more than their Income.

As to their unlimited Liberty of Conſcience, our Diſſenters here would not thank him for his Care of them, if he propoſed the *Dutch* Liberty of Conſcience as a Pattern for our Government to imitate; though ſome of them differ much leſs from the eſtabliſhed Opinions of their Country, than the neareſt of ours do from thoſe of the national Church. If we were to take a View even of their *Civil* Liberties, whatever unaccountable Humour may prevail among a particular Set of Men

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[1] P. 201. [2] P. 201, 202.

here,

here, to extol the Freedom of a *Dutch* Government, the Subjects of *England* have a Right to ſuch invaluable Privileges from the Excellency of their Conſtitution, that till they have loſt all Senſe of Virtue and Courage among them, and baſely give up their own Liberties, they will find no Reaſon to envy *Holland* the Enjoyment of theirs [b].

He ſays the *Dutch* never were noted for Frugality before *Philip* II. of *Spain* began to tyrannize over them. No, nor were they ever noted for *Wealth* till then, nor till ſome Time after. *They choſe rather to dye in Arms, than periſh by cruel Executioners; and in that unequal Strife (ſuch was their Fortitude and Reſolution) they maintained againſt the greateſt and beſt diſciplined Nation in* Europe (and yet he will tell us by and by, that this greateſt and beſt diſciplin'd Nation had been impoveriſhed and weakened by *too much Money* [c], a hundred Year before this) *the moſt tedious and bloody War that is to be met with in antient or modern Hiſtory* [d]. 'Tis not ſtrange he ſhould endeavour to magnify the Valour of his Countrymen, which undoubtedly exerted itſelf in a very eminent manner, in endeavouring to get rid of ſo cruel a Slavery; and yet Sir *William Temple*, who was never ſuſpected of Prejudice againſt them, thinks their Bravery and Conduct were not ſo much owing to *a Love for their Liberties*, as to *an invincible Hatred to the* Spaniſh *Nation*; which appeared afterwards by *an earneſt and ſolemn Offer* of themſelves to the Dominion of *England* and *France*. And ſuch was the implacable Spirit by which they were governed, that when *their Affairs grew deſperate*, he ſays, *they were once certainly upon the Counſel of burning their great Towns, waſting and de-*

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[b] In *Holland* Men are capitally puniſhed without publick Trial. *Free Thoughts*, p. 333. [c] P. 215. [d] P. 202.

ſtroying what they could of their own Country, and going to ſeek ſome new Seats in the Indies [e]. And 'tis a known Obſervation that had been made of them before, that *tho' no Nation under the Sun hated the Name of Slavery more, yet if they were managed with Diſcretion, no Nation would bear it more patiently.*

But let the Motive they acted upon be what it would, was it their own Valour that did all thoſe Feats? How willing he is to conceal all Senſe of Obligation, which ſo generous and grateful a People might be thought to lie under to their Benefactors? But if it would not offend him too much, it would be eaſy to ſhew, from their own Accounts [f], to whoſe Aſſiſtance and Protection all their Succeſs was owing; who it was that raiſed them from the *poor and diſtreſt Condition* they were in, to the *high and mighty Dignity* they have aſſumed ſince; who it was that nurſed up their little ſickly State, and preſerved them under that irregular Form of Government they were forced to take up with, that patched up, worſt conſtituted *Commonwealth that is to be met with in antient or modern Hiſtory.*

Rather than to become a Victim to the Spaniſh *Fury, they were contented to live upon a third Part of their Revenues, and lay out far the greateſt Part of their Income in defending themſelves againſt their mercileſs Enemies. Theſe Hardſhips and Calamities of a War within their Bowels, firſt put them upon that extraordinary* Frugality, *and the Continuance under the ſame Difficulties for above fourſcore Years, could not but render it cuſtomary and habitual to them* [g]. So it ſeems at laſt the grand Secret of their Wealth is diſcover'd. 'Twas their *Frugality* that made them ſo rich; and in Return for it, I'll

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[e] Sir *William Temple*'s Obſervations upon the *United Provinces*, Fol. Edit. 1720. p. 21.

[f] See *Grotius*'s Annals

[g] P. 203.

acquaint

acquaint him with another Truth altogether as certain and apparent. By the Luxury they have lately run into, their Wealth is greatly ſunk, their Publick overrun with Debts, their naval Force and Navigation much weaken'd and leſſen'd; and if they make a proportionable Progreſs in another Age, they will be reduced to a Condition not much better than they were taken from.

The Nation I ſpeak of was never in greater Streights, nor their Affairs in a more diſmal Poſture ſince they were a Republick, than in the Year 1671, *and the beginning of* 1672. *What we know of their Oeconomy and Conſtitution with any Certainty, has been chiefly owing to Sir* William Temple, *whoſe Obſervations upon their Manners and Government, it is evident from ſeveral Paſſages in his Memoirs, were made about that Time* [h]. Then follows his Obſervation upon what he has been reading. *The* Dutch *indeed were* THEN *very frugal.* Was there ever ſo injudicious a Remark? In what a perverſe manner muſt he have read the Author he quotes? In the very ſame Paragraph in which Sir *William Temple* tells him, that his Obſervations *were* made about that Time, he aſcribes the Decay of their Wealth to the *Luxury* he had for ſeveral Years obſerved to be growing among them.

He begins it with taking Notice of the Enlargement of the City of *Amſterdam*, the new Buildings whereof he ſays, 'Are of ſo much greater Beauty and Coſt 'than the old, that it muſt have employed a vaſt Pro-'portion of that Stock which in this City was before 'wholly turned to Trade.' He goes on, 'Beſides, 'there ſeems to have been growing on for theſe later 'Years a greater Vie of Luxury and Expence among 'many of the Merchants of that Town, than was ever 'formerly known; which was obſerved and complain-

[h] P. 206, and 207.

'ed

'ed of, as well as the Enlargement of their City, by 'ſome of the wiſeſt of their Miniſters, while I reſided 'among them, who deſigned ſome Regulations by 'Sumptuary Laws; as knowing the very Foundations 'of their Trade would ſoon be undermined, if the ha-'bitual Induſtry, Parſimony, and Simplicity of their 'People came to be overrun by Luxury, Idleneſs, and 'Exceſs. However it happened, I found it agreed by 'all the moſt diligent and circumſpect Enquiries I could 'make, that in the Years 69 and 70, there was hardly 'any foreign Trade among them, beſides that of the '*Indies*, &c.'[1].

There goes a Story of a remarkable Entertainment, that a Burgho-maſter of *Amſterdam* made about the ſame time to the ſix and thirty Magiſtrates and their Wives. The firſt Courſe conſiſted of Butter-milk, Stock-fiſh, red Herrings, &c. Upon the removal of it, the Gueſts found underneath Papers of Verſes, to let them know, that by ſuch a Way of living they acquired their Wealth and enlarged their City. The ſecond Courſe conſiſted of plain Butchers Meat, with Inſtructions at the end of it in the ſame manner, to tell them, that even by that ſober Way of living they might preſerve what they had got. The third conſiſted of all the Rarities that Luxury could furniſh out; the Papers left for them were to ſhew them the manner of Life they were got into, as what impaired their Healths and waſted their Eſtates. After this followed a Deſert of the choiceſt Fruits and Sweet-meats piled up in Pyramids. The whole Entertainment concluded with a Maſque; the Advice put into their Hands at parting was, that if they did not abate of their Extravagance, and quit all ſuch Buffoonries and awk-ward Imitations of the Cuſtoms of other Countries,

[1] *Obſ.* &c. p. 69.

that their natural Genius rendred them unfit for, and return to the Simplicity of their Anceſtors and Founders, their Commonwealth could not laſt [k].

The Author of *the Fable* goes on for ſeveral Pages to account for this extraordinary *Frugality* that has been obſerved among them. But what Purpoſe does all this tend to? If it was their *Frugality* that made them rich, of what Conſequence is it, whether Choice or Neceſſity put them firſt upon practiſing Frugality? But becauſe *Frugality* is commonly accounted *a Virtue*, he is loth to leave his Countrymen under ſo heavy an Imputation, and therefore labours to prove that they are not *frugal* out of *Principle* [l]. And again [m], that *their Frugality flows not ſo much from their Averſion to Vice, as from Neceſſity.* Who was ever weak enough to charge the *Dutch* with Inſtances of Virtue from any other Motive than Neceſſity, that is, Intereſt? 'Tis the grand Principle the Rulers of all Kingdoms go by; and if there were any Exceptions to it, he need not be in ſo much Pain for his Countrymen: No Body would go to *Holland* to look for Proofs of a generous and diſintereſted Regard to Virtue and Honeſty. But ſurely it makes ſtronger againſt him, that Societies ſhould find their *preſent* Account in being virtuous, that 'tis their *Intereſt* to be ſo, than that the Practice of Virtue ſhould flow from any *religious* or *moral* Principle. Let us ſee how this Tally's with the grand Deſign of his Book. *The wiſe Rulers* [n] *in* Holland *promote Virtue and Frugality among their Subjects, becauſe it is, generally ſpeaking, their Intereſt* [o]. And again [p], *It is their Intereſt to be frugal and ſpend little.* And yet *private Vices* are *publick Benefits*

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[k] See a Deſcription of the *United Netherlands* by an *Engliſh* Gentleman p. 71. from theſe Words, *The old ſevere and frugal Way of living is now almoſt quite out of Date in* Holland, *&c.*

[l] P. 206. [m] P. 207. [n] P. 95. [o] P. 208.
[p] P. 204.

every

every where [q], and Luxury is his favourite Vice, by which he illuſtrates the Truth of this general Aſſertion. For *Frugality is like Honeſty, a mean, ſtarving Virtue, that is only fit for ſmall Societies of good peaceable Men, who are contented to be poor, ſo they may be eaſy* [r]. Which will he give up? the Wiſdom of his Country, or the Truth of his own Principle?

What led me chiefly to the mention of *Holland* was to ſhew, firſt, That the Soil of the Country there, as well as elſewhere, (let the Author ſuppoſe it bears never ſo ſmall a Proportion to the neceſſary Food of the Inhabitants [s],) is the real Source of their Wealth; it being the produce of the Soil managed and worked up for Exportation, and the Returns from thence, whether for home Conſumption or further Exportation, that the Wealth of *Holland* conſiſts in; and from thence to ſhew, 2dly, That if through the Luxury of the Inhabitants they ſhould conſume the Fruits of their Soil and the Returns of them in a greater Proportion than their Income and Gain amount to, it will neceſſarily make them *poor*, as the ſame Conduct would a private Family. The Author may take Refuge in his fond Conceit, and fancy himſelf as ſecure in it as he pleaſes, that the Caſe of *Holland* differs from all the World beſides, and that their particular *Neceſſities* obliged them to be frugal [t]. But 'twas the moſt unhappy Reaſon he could have given for their Conduct, with Regard to his own Scheme. For if the Neceſſities and Poverty of the *Dutch* made the Practice of Frugality their *Intereſt* [u], and that the keeping up to that Policy, has raiſed them from Poverty, to the State of Wealth and Grandeur they now enjoy; why is it not as much the Intereſt of

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[q] The Title Page. [r] P. 105. [s] P. 203. [t] *From* p. 203 to 209. [u] P. 204, 208.

thoſe

thoſe Kingdoms to do ſo, who have none of thoſe Wants to provide againſt? If the *Dutch* in their preſent Condition are oblig'd to be more frugal than their Neighbours, from the vaſt Expence they are at in Repairing their Dykes, the Weight of other Taxes, and the Scantineſs of their Dominions; would not the ſame Frugality in their Neighbours, who have a greater Extent of Land, and no ſuch Demands of Expence, keep them in a Condition ſtill proportionably above them, and continue them ſtill proportionably richer? To make this yet plainer from the Caſe of a private Man. Suppoſe a Man has a numerous Family, and but a ſmall Spot of Ground to maintain them; though he is obliged to beſtow a great Part of his Time and Labour in fencing the Ground againſt the Encroachment of the Sea, or in ſheltring himſelf againſt the Plunder and Oppreſſion of his richer and more powerful Neighbours; if, notwithſtanding theſe Diſadvantages, he lives upon a third Part of his little Revenue, 'tis poſſible that in length of Time he may grow a Match for them; but if his Neighbours who had a better Eſtate, and no ſuch Inconveniencies to provide againſt, had in Proportion lived as frugally as he, 'tis impoſſible but they muſt have preſerved themſelves in the ſame Degree of Diſtance above him. Ay, but (ſays our Author) *all their Arts of ſaving, and penurious Way of Living, could never have enabled them to make Head againſt ſo potent an Enemy, if their Induſtry in promoting their Fiſhery and Navigation in general, had not helped to ſupport the natural Wants and Diſadvantages they laboured under* [x]. 'Tis very true. In the ſame manner, the poor Man would not have grown rich ſo ſoon from the Product of his little Spot of Ground, *or have been able to make Head againſt his potent Enemies*, if his Situation had not pro-

[x] P. 203.

cured him as much Fiſh as he wanted to ſupply his natural want of Beef and Mutton. For as the Author very well obſerves, a *Dutchman* won't ſtarve for want of Fleſh Meat, where there is Plenty of pickled Herrings. But how does this prove againſt the Uſefulneſs of *Frugality*? Would not *Frugality* ſtill aſſiſt them in growing rich, as much as if they had had no ſuch Acceſſion of Wealth? Frugality has the *ſame Uſe*, and will have the ſame Effects, in all Circumſtances and Degrees of Wealth. 'Twas *the Intereſt of* Holland *to be frugal and ſpend little* [y], but 'tis the Intereſt of *England* to be laviſh and ſpend a great deal [z]. Why ſo? Becauſe Frugality is ſo whimſical a Virtue, that it always makes a *poor* Country *rich*, and a *rich* Country *poor* [a].

But, ſays the Author, private Families grow rich by the very oppoſite Method to that which enriches a Society. Though Luxury is beneficial to the Society, *yet it is undeniably the wiſeſt Courſe for every Perſon in the Society, and for every private Family to be frugal* [b]. Luxury will enrich the *whole*, and make *every Part* poor. The great Courage of the *Engliſh* is owing to their eating of Beef, but the eating of Beef makes every individual *Engliſhman* a Coward; which no Body can Diſpute the Truth of, if *Bleſſings are prejudicial* [c], and a People grow *beggarly by too much Money* [d]; if

When every Part is full of Vice,
The whole Maſs be a Paradiſe. [e].

The grand Maxim upon which this Treatiſe of Luxury is founded, is, that Conſumption breeds Riches; that Wealth is a kind of Hydra's Head, the

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[y] P. 204. [z] Ibid. [a] *Read* p. 204, 205. [b] P. 212.
[c] Bleſſings prejudicial *See the Index under the Word* Bleſſings.
[d] P. 215. [e] P. 9.

more

more you endeavour to deſtroy it, the more it grows upon you. Now had this Author chanced to have lived at the Time when his Country was in the greateſt Diſtreſs, what Time and Labour might not he have ſaved his Countrymen, by inſtructing them in this new Method of growing rich? What a happy Change would they have found, as ſoon as they had baniſhed their *idle, dreaming Virtue* of Frugality [f]? They thought indeed that Frugality was a *buſy* Virtue; that the ſame Diſpoſition of Mind that made Men frugal, would make them diligent and laborious; and accordingly ſome Way or other they certainly contrived to join Frugality and Induſtry together. But this Author would have made it plain to them, *that Frugality was like Honeſty, a mean, ſtarving Virtue, that 'twas fit only for ſmall Societies of good peaceable Men, who were contented to be poor, but that in a large ſtirring Nation* 'twas ſtark naught [g]. That *Holland* is a *ſtirring* Nation, I preſume, is not to be denied: And that it has all the Conveniencies of a *large* Country, we are told elſewhere [h]; and I never heard it was ſo crowded with *good and peaceable Men*, that the Country in general were *contented to be poor*, ſo any Way could be thought of for their growing rich; *their political Wiſdom*, as he ſays, having been ſeen *in poſtponing every thing to Merchandize and Navigation* [i]. And therefore, notwithſtanding what he ſays elſewhere, that it was *their Intereſt* [k] *to be frugal and ſpend little*, I can't ſee but this was a proper Place enough for him to offer his Project. 'Tis ſo pretty and pleaſant a Way to grow rich, that all the World muſt be prejudiced in favour of it beforehand. If he offered it any where now, it could not fail of Encouragement, provided he can but demon-

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[f] P. 105 and 106. [g] P. 105. [h] P. 201. The *Dutch* may aſcribe *their preſent Grandeur*, &c. Ibid. So *conſiderable* among the principal Powers of *Europe*. [i] P. 201 and 202. [k] P. 204.

ſtrate it would have this Effect. The Name of *Columbus* will never be mentioned more, nor *the Philoſopher's Stone* ever dreamt of again; all will be loſt in *the Fable of the Bees*, as long as that Kingdom rowls in Prodigality and Treaſure. *England* by the meer Strength of its own Genius ſeems to have found out the Secret already; for if Vice in general, and Luxury in particular, be the Road to Wealth, we bid fair for growing prodigiouſly rich.

That Honeſty is a *mean*, *ſtarving* Quality [1], I own, to do him Juſtice, is not the greateſt Paradox in his Book; I could help him to the Name of a great Man or two that ſeem to have as *mean* an Opinion of it as he can have, and don't care for *ſtarving* in a plentiful Country. To return.

As to the Inſtance of *Spain* or *Portugal*, the ſame Way of reaſoning will hold, if Money be conſidered as any *other* Commodity, which in theſe Places it ought to be, becauſe it is the Growth of the Soil that belongs to them. If the yearly Expence in either of thoſe Countries exceeds the yearly Growth and Profit of their Soil, what has been ſaid before muſt have the ſame Effect here. Theſe Countries, as long as they neglect their other Commodities, and rely wholly upon their Money, are under a more particular Neceſſity of being frugal than others; for as Money is not eaſily worn out or deſtroyed, their conſtant Importation of freſh Quantities of it into the trading World, does conſtantly leſſen the Value of it: For as the Quantity of it encreaſes, it will purchaſe the fewer of other Commodities from their Neighbours, or (which is the ſame Thing) the Commodities they import will always grow in Value. For the Value of any Thing is the comparative Worth

[1] P. 105.

of

of it to Money, as the Value of Money is rated by the Scarcity or Plenty of it. 'Tis in this Senſe only true then, that the Diſcovery of their Mines has impoveriſhed *Spain*; that is, they have over-rated their Money, and lived beyond the Income of it. For Money is no otherwiſe a Part of Wealth, than as, by the Conſent of Mankind, it is endued with a Capacity of purchaſing the Neceſſaries, Conveniencies, and Ornaments of Life. Theſe were ſupplied to the *Spaniards* formerly (as in other Countries now) by the Fruits of their own Soil, improved by the Labour and Skill of their People; and ſupplied to them in a greater Proportion than their Money can purchaſe for them now. But *as ſoon as that Ocean of Treaſure came rowling in upon them*, the Author ſays, *it took away their Senſes, and their Induſtry forſook them. The Farmer left his Plough, the Mechanick his Tools, the Merchant his Compting-Houſe, and every Body ſcorning to work, took his Pleaſure and turned Gentleman* [m]. And again, *They ſit with their Arms acroſs, and wait every Year with Impatience and Anxiety, the Arrival of their Revennes from Abroad, to pay others for what they have* ſpent *already* [n]. That is, in plain Terms, they have been extravagant and luxurious; for if they had not encreaſed their Expences, or abated of their uſual Labour and Induſtry, more than in Proportion to this Increaſe of their Treaſure, it is impoſſible the Importation of Money among them could have hurt them. Ay, but ſays the Author, beſides that, from a *rich* People they are become a *beggarly* [o] one; from a *knowing* [p], *acute, diligent and laborious*, they are *become a ſlow, idle, and proud People* [q]. Why all theſe are the true, genuine, and natural Effects of Luxury. Too

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[m] P. 214. [n] P. 215. [o] Ibid. [p] P. 214. l. 4. [q] P. 215.

much

much Indulgence in Eaſe and Pleaſure weakens the Faculties of the Mind; and if it was not for fear of the Author's Cenſure and cleanly Ridicule [r], one might ſay, *enervates* a People, both with Regard to their Bodies and Minds, beſides many other Vices they naturally lead too. The Author has a moſt perverſe Inclination to ſhift the Names and Definitions of Things, when he is giving an Account of the Plenty of Money in *Spain* (which is certainly *Wealth* as far as it goes.) He ſhews you the Effects of Luxury: When he is to give a Definition (as he calls it) of *Luxury*, as if he were at croſs Purpoſes, he gives a very true Account of *Wealth* [s]; *for every Thing that is not immediately neceſſary to make Man ſubſiſt, as he is a living Creature*, becomes a Part of his *Wealth*. When any Man or any Society of Men have a greater Share of theſe than other People, they are comparatively *rich*. There muſt be an Abuſe of theſe, or an Enjoyment of them beyond People's Circumſtances to make them *Luxury*. Theſe have both concurred in the Caſe of *Spain*, and they have produced the natural Effects of Luxury, they have made a *knowing, rich, acute, diligent and laborious, become a ſlow, idle, proud and beggarly People.*

Our Author's Talent at Definition is every where remarkable. I have met with a learned Writer not altogether unlike him, that has a ſtrange Fancy to make his Definitions look like Riddles. What's that, ſays he, which conſiſts in *a various Diſpoſition of Images received before*? Why, a retailing Printſeller's Shop as likely as any Thing, or a Sign-Painter's or a Statuary's Yard; or——— Hold, ſays the Author, you ſhould have known without my telling you, that by *Images*, I

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[r] P. 118. [s] P. 108. If every Thing is to be Luxury (as in Strictneſs it ought) that is not immediately neceſſary, *&c.*

meant

meant *Images* in the Mind. Gueſs again. With this freſh Inſtruction, and after ſome Doubt and Perplexity whether any thing at all was meant by it, you would gueſs, perhaps, 'twas the *Memory*, or rather an Endeavour to recollect a particular Thing that was forgot. Bite again, ſays the Author, 'tis a Definition of Thinking in general. Of Thinking, Sir? Why how did theſe *Images* that were *received before* there was any *various Diſpoſition* of them get into the Mind at firſt? Were they received without Thought? No, perhaps not: There lyes the Riddle; *Thought* without *Thinking*, that is, 'twas a lucky *Thought* that put People firſt upon *Thinking*, as it was an Awe of their *Rulers* that firſt brought them into a State of *Government*. No doubt but you will immediately ſee your Error, and be ready to own there required a very *various Diſpoſition* of a great many *Images received before*, to furniſh out ſo accurate a Definition. Again, what is that in which there appears *an Aptitude of the Spirits, by which they nimbly turn to, and dexterouſly diſpoſe the Images that may ſerve our Purpoſe*? 'Tis my Farce of *Dr. Fauſtus*, ſays Mr. *Rich*, or a *Puppet-Shew*. Not ſo quick, good Mr. *Rich*. Sir, it has no more relation to any modern Production of the Stage, than it has to the Converſation in a Maſquerade, or than *Thinking* has to an *Opera*. Why, Sir, 'tis a Definition of *Wit*; and there's a great deal of Wit in the Definition too. The Thing points out itſelf. But ſays the critical Reader, you have only attempted to define the Cauſe inſtead of the Effect. A bare *Aptitude* of the Spirits can't be *Wit*, but according to you, muſt produce what we call *Wit*; unleſs a Man can be ſaid to have hit the Mark, who has only his Bow ready bent for Shooting. Again, your Definitions look more like an Account of ſome Machine, than of the Faculties of a human Soul. Machine, Sir, why what d'ye take Men to be? Meer Machines, take my

Word

Word for it; and thoſe not of the cleverest ſort neither. There are ſeveral Brutes of a much nobler Make, as a judicious Friend of mine has proved in a Dialogue between a Merchant and a Lyon [r], particularly by one Argument, that he may challenge all *haughty Moraliſts*, and other Advocates for *the Dignity of their ſublime Species* [s] to anſwer.

Theſe two Definitions of *Wit* and *Thinking* may be ſeen in *p.* 164, and 129, and 130. of *a Treatiſe of the Hypochondriack Paſſions, by* B. de Mandeville, *M. D.*

I beg Pardon for this Digreſſion, intended to ſhew the Similitude of Genius and Manner in theſe two Writers. But to return.

That the Condition *Spain* is reduced to, is owing only to *Luxury*, will appear yet plainer from the Author he quotes. *A Man* (ſays he) *would be laughed at by moſt People, who ſhould maintain that too much Money could undo a Nation* [u]. But this, from his uſual Inclination to Paradox, he is reſolved to *maintain*; and to avoid the Laugh, brings in a grave *Spaniard*, who is to diſcountenance all Inclination to Merriment. *The learned* Don Diego Saavedra *aſcribes the Ruin of his Country to too much Money.*

Saavedra writ a Piece call'd, *The Royal Politician*, it contains a hundred Emblems, by which he introduces his political Maxims. As that whole Paragraph in the *Fable of the Bees* [x] is borrowed from him, it will help us to diſcover what it is the Author refers to; for the Expreſſion of *too much Money* is no where in the Book,

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[r] See the Fable of the Bees, *from* p. 191. to p. 196.

[s] P. 192. *Leo loquitur*, as to the Excellency of either Species, the Value of Things among you has ever increaſed with the Scarcity of them, and to a Million of Men there's hardly one Lyon.——Thus ſpoke the Lyon, and the Merchant (*unable to confute him*) fainted away, *p.* 196. *The Reader may compare this with p.* 29. *of the Fable.*

[u] P. 213. [x] Ibid.

nor any thing equivalent to it. What he means is in the 69th Emblem. The Motto to it is *Ferro & Auro*, to ſhew how uſeleſs the former is without a ſufficient Quantity of the latter. The whole Deſign of the Emblem is to point out the Miſchiefs of Luxury, and the Neceſſity of Wealth. After having mentioned the Inconveniencies of Prodigality and Extravagance with Regard to the publick Treaſure, he ſays, *Spain* had had long ſince the univerſal Empire of the World, if it had been leſs extravagant in War, and more regular and methodical in Peace: but through a certain Negligence, the uſual Effect of Grandeur, it has ſuffered thoſe Riches, which ſhould have rendred it invincible, to be made Uſe of by other Nations [y]: that the chief Wealth and Riches of Nations are the Fruits of the Earth [z]; that theſe had formerly brought a vaſt Wealth to *Spain*; that the Diſcovery of their Mines had made them neglect this Source of their Wealth, and introduced a general Luxury among them; that when *Columbus* returned firſt laden with Gold, the People flock'd to the Shore to admire theſe precious Products of the Earth; that this great Plenty of them ſoon perverted all Things; the Husbandman ſoon leaves his Plough, gets into his embroidered Silks, and begins to be more curious of his tawny, ſunburnt Hands; the Merchant ſteps from his Counter into his Sedan, and lolls it lazily about the Streets; Workmen diſdain their Tools, and all forſooth muſt now turn Gentlemen [a]. That this new Treaſure was not an Equivalent for the Loſs of their former, which was idly ſquandred away by depending too much upon the new, *Et divitiarum expectatio inter cauſas paupertatis publicæ erat* [b]. That this did not only impoveriſh, but enervate them; it ſunk their Valour as well as their

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[y] P. 156. Vol. 2. tranſlated by Sir *James Aſtry*, printed in 1700.
[z] P. 157. [a] P. 158, and 159. [b] Tac. Ann.

Wealth [c], for *Luxu vires corrumpebantur* [d]. That the only cure for these Evils is to grow frugal; for that *Frugality is the best Revenue* [e]. That to bring this about a Prince should first regulate the Expences of his own Family, without which he can never reform those of his People [f].

There is more to the same Purpose in the 68th *Emblem*. Speaking of the Luxury in *Spain*, that drained them of their *Indian* Wealth, he refers to *Tacitus* for an Expression of *Tiberius* complaining of the Extravagance of the *Roman* Ladies in Pearls and Jewels, *Quid? Lapidum causa pecuniæ nostræ ad hostiles gentes transferuntur* [g]. Again, in the 71st *Emblem*, to prove the mischievous Effects of Luxury upon the Temper and Courage of a People, he says, the Temples of *Minerva*, *Mars*, and *Hercules* (Deities glorious for their Virtue) were built to shew Labour and Industry, not Luxury and Ease [h]. That no Prince ever enlarged his Territories by Effeminacy, Luxury and Ease [i], and that the Virtue and ardent Courage of Ancestors is fully extinguished in their Posterity by Luxury and Voluptuousness [k]. That Citizens who carelessly give themselves up to Pleasure and Luxury are their greatest Enemies. That such Idleness plots against the Laws and Government, and is nourished by VICE, from whence proceed all the internal and external Misfortunes of States [l]. After this one would wonder that the learned *Don Diego Saavedra* should be quoted in a Treatise writ to prove the Usefulness of Vice; and in that particular Remark which is intended to shew the Mischiefs of Frugality [m].

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[c] P. 160. [d] Tac. [e] P. 162. [f] P. 163.
[g] P. 148. [h] P. 171. [i] Ibid. [k] P. 172.
[l] P. 175. [m] The Remark Q.

It

It is not then their *having* too much Money, but their *ſpending* it, that *Saavedra* finds Fault with.

But though the want of that Induſtry and Frugality that *Spain* had formerly in common with other Nations, has impoveriſhed their Country, by draining them ſo faſt and conſtantly of their Money, which they give in Exchange for thoſe Commodities (thoſe Conveniencies and Ornaments of Life) which their Skill and Labour formerly drew from their own Soil; yet it can't be the Intereſt of *Spain* to prevent entirely the Exportation of their Coin. For as it is the Growth of the Soil that belongs to them, which conſtantly brings them in vaſt Supplies of it, their Money in Time would grow to be of no other Uſe to them, than 'tis in a private Family, where 'tis always hoarded up in Coffers, or at beſt worked up to Houſhold Furniture. Money has no other worth in it, than as it is endued with a Property, by general Conſent, to purchaſe other Commodities with. *Spain* then muſt always Trade with their Money.

From hence it appears, that Luxury, and Extravagance, and not *too much Money*, have impoveriſhed *Spain*. This vaſt Acceſſion of Treaſure has had the ſame Effect upon *Spain*, that a Bequeſt of an Eſtate in Land may have on a private Man, who is in Poſſeſſion of a flouriſhing Trade. If he grows idle upon it, and leaves off his Buſineſs, it is very poſſible he may find this Eſtate won't bring him in as large an Income as his Trade did before; but if he keeps on his Buſineſs, or abates only a little of his uſual Care and Trouble, it can't be thought but he is the richer for this Eſtate, and may afford to live better than his Neighbour who has the ſame Trade, but has had no ſuch good Fortune happen to him. For the ſame Reaſon exactly, the People of *Spain* will always have it in their Power to be the richeſt People in the World, if

they will condeſcend to make the ſame Advantages of their Soil, that other Countries do: Becauſe, beſides thoſe Advantages of their own Soil, they have ſuch a Fund of Treaſure, as will purchaſe for them the utmoſt Elegancies, that the Soil of the whole World can procure for them. They need not be obliged to the *ſame* Induſtry and Frugality that other Countries are, to make them as *rich* as their Neighbours, though Luxury or too much Expence will infallibly make them *poor*.

Some Men have look'd upon Laws againſt the Exportation of Money as weak and impolitick in any Country. But this is a very great Miſtake. For when there is any Call for the Exportation of Money from a Country where they have none of it of their own Growth, 'tis a Demonſtration that that Trade is prejudicial; and Laws which make the Exportation of it difficult, will reſtrain the Luxury that gives Occaſion for that Demand, or thoſe Exceedings of Imports beyond the Exports; or (which brings it to the ſame Thing) they will prevent the Merchant Abroad from ſending over more Goods in Value, than he receives in Goods, or the other from receiving them, ſince they find it ſo difficult to adjuſt this Balance or Exceedings. Indeed, where a Country can purchaſe ſuch Goods, and ſuch a Quantity of them, with their Money, as when exported to a third Place, will bring them in a greater Quantity of Money again, the Exportation of it will always be allowed: Becauſe then they are only the Carriers, and are paid for it, but in all other Caſes it can't be too ſtrictly prohibited.

It has been objected, that ſuch Laws would raiſe the Exchange to their Diſadvantage. But this is a Conſequence, not of the Laws *themſelves*, but only of their proving ineffectual. This will appear plain from the Nature of Exchange.

When a Merchant abroad receives from a Merchant here 11,000 Pounds worth of Goods, and ſends over only 10,000 Pounds worth, he is under an Obligation to pay the other 1000 ſome Way or other; and as from the Nature of the Trade, and the greater Demand of our Goods there, than of their Goods here, the Caſe is the ſame with all or moſt of their Merchants that Trade hither, it makes the Demand for Money ſo much greater in one Place than the other; by which Means they are content to pay a greater Quantity of Money there, to receive a leſs Quantity of Money here, to be made good to their Account in their Creditor's Books. The Balance at laſt muſt however be ſent over in *Specie*; and it is the ſhifting off the Diſadvantage and Hazard of this from one to another, that occaſions, what we call, the high Price of Exchange. If the Exportation of Money were allowed in every Country, the Exchange would be only ſo much againſt any Place, as the Charge of carrying over the Balance amounts to. But where the Exportation of it is diſallowed, the Exchange will riſe againſt that Country, if the Balance of the Trade be againſt them, in Proportion to the Hazard that is run in the Exporting it; which, though it be a Diſadvantage to that Country, yet prevents a greater Diſadvantage, by preventing the Exceedings of Imports beyond the Exports; that is, by making ſuch greater Importation difficult. If they could effectually prevent the Exportation of Money, the Balance of Trade could never be againſt them, becauſe the Merchant here would not ſend more Goods to his Correſpondent, than he knew he could be paid for in Goods again, which as it would be the Caſe of every ſingle Merchant, ſo it would likewiſe be the Caſe of the whole Nation. For the Balance of national Trade, is the Balance of all the private Traders Accounts thrown together. What I would

would infer from hence, is, that where the Exports are equal in Price to the Imports (which is the Effect intended by Laws to prevent the Exportation of Money) the Exchange will always be at *Par*; where the Exports exceed the Imports, the Exchange will be to their Advantage, in Proportion as that Balance is ſo.

The *Uſe* or *Conveniency* of Exchange, is, that it ſaves the Trouble of carrying abroad or bringing home the Balance of every ſeparate Trader's Account with his Correſpondent, and only occaſions the ſending over or receiving the Balance of the whole national Trade. For Inſtance, *A*, *B*, and *C*, three *Engliſh* Merchants, have each ſent abroad 11,000 Pounds worth of Goods to his foreign Correſpondent, and received only 10,000 Pounds worth: The Balance due to each is 1,000 Pounds, which, if there were no ſuch thing as *Exchange*, muſt be ſent over in *Specie*. But then *D*. and *E*. two other *Engliſh* Merchants, having ſent to the ſame Place only 10,000 Pounds worth each, and received 11,000 Pounds worth each, it comes to paſs, that by their paying to *A*, *B*, and *C*, 2,000 Pounds (or as much more as is agreed upon between them) on account of their foreign Correſpondent, there will remain only 1,000 Pounds to be ſent over in *Specie*. This Conveniency may be extended yet farther, by Means of any third Nation that trades with both; ſo that it may poſſibly happen, that even this thouſand Pound need not be ſent over in *Specie*. Suppoſe the thouſand Pounds to be due to *A*. a Merchant of one Country, from *B*. of another Country, if *C*. of a third Country is Debtor a thouſand Pounds to *B*. and Creditor in the ſame Sum to *A*. the Balance may be adjuſted between them all without the Exportation of any *Specie* whatever.

It will be ſaid, perhaps, that the laying very heavy Duties upon the Goods that are the Product of theſe Countries, the Trade with which is prejudicial, would turn the Balance of that Trade to Advantage, more than Laws to prevent the Exportation of Coin. The Diſcuſſion of this Queſtion would carry me too much out of the Way at preſent. I am not writing a political Treatiſe upon Trade, but have only ſaid ſo much of the Nature of it, as it is hoped will be ſufficient to prove, that Luxury and Extravagance are always prejudicial, and to ſhew in what manner they are ſo; as likewiſe to ſhew that Laws againſt the Exportation of *Specie*, are truly and properly Sumptuary Laws, and calculated to prevent a People's ſpending more than their Income. However, as I have no where ſaid, that Laws to prohibit the Exportation of Money would of *themſelves* be effectual; ſo it is not likely that any other Methods, *without* ſuch Laws, would ſignify any thing. The higher theſe Duties are, the greater Encouragement they give to Smuggling; and if the Profit ariſing from this ſort of Traffick at preſent is ſo great, as to make Men deſpiſe the Dangers and Penalties of exporting Money to pay for thoſe run Goods, the repealing thoſe Laws, or abating of the Rigour of them, would encourage the Practice ſtill more. The Value of Goods ſo run in *Great Britain* amounts to an immenſe Sum yearly, which beſides the Diſadvantage to the fair Trader, and the Loſs of the Duty to the Publick, is of infinite Prejudice, from the Neceſſity it occaſions of exporting our *Specie* to pay for them. For as the Temptation to ſmuggle Goods ariſes from the Greatneſs of that Duty, ſo the Greatneſs of that Duty, compared to the Duty upon other Goods, does or ought to ariſe only from the Diſadvantage of importing them; and is intended to prevent the Exportation of Coin, to pay the Balance, that in an open

Trade,

Trade, would be due to that Country on the Score of thoſe Commodities. Now ſmuggling prevents the good Effects of ſuch Laws, and the Money ſo paid for theſe Goods, is commonly ſo much dead Loſs to the Nation. But cheating the Publick in more Inſtances than this has quite loſt its Name among us. Private Men, from a ſort of Jealouſy too common among them, think they are not always fairly dealt with in the Management of the publick Treaſure, and from this miſtaken Fact, take occaſion to run into a yet ſtranger Latitude in Caſuiſtry, and think they have a right to Reprizals by all the Methods they can lay hold of, which yet at laſt falls heavier upon them, with this only Advantage to them, that Men of more ſcrupulous Conſciences than themſelves, bear a proportionable Share of the Burthen of thoſe Deficiencies, which they had no Hand in occaſioning.

To conclude then as to the Effects of Luxury upon Trade and Wealth. Every Country is to the whole trading World, what any private Family is to that Country. The moſt frugal in each will, from the very Nature and Courſe of Trade, receive Advantages from, and gain Power upon the more extravagant; for national Power is a certain Attendant upon national Wealth. Againſt this the Author objects, that though *England* ſhould by conſuming half the Quantity of foreign Goods they do now, receive the other half in Gold and Silver, yet this could only be done for a Time, and that *it is impoſſible it ſhould laſt* [n]. Perhaps it would not laſt always in the ſame Proportion; but that can be no Reaſon why *England* ſhould not take the Advantage of it as long as it does laſt. If any one ſhould be Fool enough to throw his Money about the Streets, which

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[n] P. 111.

another

another might have for ſtooping for, it would be no Reaſon why he ſhould not be at the Pains of ſtooping, only becauſe he knows the other wont always continue to throw about his Money, but that the Senſe of his Neceſſities or Folly may ſometime or other make him ſtop his Hand. Now the Caſe is much ſtronger here, for there never will be wanting People enough in the trading World, addicted to *the noble Sin of Prodigality*, who will indulge themſelves in *that agreeable good natured Vice that makes the Chimney ſmoak, and all the Tradeſmen ſmile* °, and the Wealth ſo laviſhed away, the more wary and frugal will always receive to themſelves. But is the frugal Society the poorer for theſe Advantages, becauſe there may poſſibly be an end to them? If all the trading World were to grow frugal at once, would not they that were frugal before, ſtill be upon a Level with them at leaſt? Or would it become the Wiſdom of a Society, as ſoon as the reſt of the World grew frugal too, to alter their Conduct, and throw away their Wealth to keep up a Round of *Prodigality*, that ſo *noble a Sin* might not be quite extinct? And yet this is the utmoſt weight of the Objection. Why does not he go to a Secretary of State, and adviſe him to drop his Politicks, to lay aſide his Schemes for advancing the Power and Wealth of his Country, becauſe the People he has to do with, won't always continue to be outdone by him? As ſuperior Skill will always get the better of weaker Politicks, ſo will Frugality reap Advantages from the Luxury of their Neighbours; and there never will be ſuch a Scarcity of the one as to make the other grow *uſeleſs*, much leſs change its Nature and become *impolitick*. Frugality is WISDOM, and the trueſt Politicks that any Nation can practiſe.

° P. 103.

As the Author has *had the Mortification for several Years to find sensible People against this Opinion*, he tells you this Mortification was sufficiently made Amends for at last, by *the Pleasure* he conceived at the passing of *the Bastard Act*[*], which, he is sure, was owing to the same Way of Thinking that gave Birth to his Treatise upon Luxury. This he flies to as his last Refuge; an *Asylum*, where he knew no Body durst follow him. But it was not fair in him to quote a Law, the Importance and Wisdom of which it is not safe to dispute.

If to this Account of Luxury the Author should object that I have only shewn the Mischiefs of such a Degree, or such a sort of Luxury, as he himself has not defended, he having allowed that the Imports should never exceed the Exports[†]; I answer, that this Caution, like others in his Book, quite overturns all he had been saying before. For the certain necessary Effect of Luxury, or rather the very Thing meant by Luxury, is, that how much soever the Balance of Trade has been to the Advantage of a Nation, it turns that Balance against them, and makes the Imports exceed the Exports. If he only means, that a People will never grow the poorer, as long as the Imports do not exceed the Exports, his Assertion is equivalent to this, that *a private Man won't grow poor, as long as he lives within his Income*. And even in that Case, if the Income of his Estate be laid out in debauching his Family and Servants, by whose Labour his Income is what it is, that very Income will by Degrees lessen, and consequently, without any greater Expence than before, he will grow every Year poorer. Besides, an eager Pursuit after Pleasure, and a studied

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[*] P. 114. [†] P. 115. *and elsewhere.*

Delicacy

Delicacy in the Way of living, almoſt neceſſarily run into Extravagance. But ſuppoſe it to be otherwiſe, that is, that there may be *Luxury* without *Extravagance*, is this the only ſort of Luxury he contends for? Was *the Fable of the Bees, or private* VICES *publick* BENEFITS, writ to prove that there is no Danger of ſpending too much as long as you keep what you have? His Buſineſs is to prove, that Luxury of every ſort *enriches* a Nation; to point out the Inconveniencies of that *mean, ſtarving Virtue*, Frugality [t]; to ſhew the great Advantages of the *noble Sin, Prodigality* [u], and to make it appear, that *Laviſhneſs is a moſt beneficial Vice to the Publick* [w]. Now if any one ſhould write a Treatiſe to ſhew private Men *the Way to grow rich*, (for the Caſe is exactly the ſame) if to give the Reader a greater Notion of his Abilities for this uſeful Task, he ſhould tell him that he *had ſeen a great deal of the World* [x]; that he had *ſearched thro' every Degree and Station of Men* [y]; that he could diſcern *a Chain of Cauſes* further than the reſt of Mankind [z]; and if, after all, his Proofs ſhould mount to nothing more than this, that *if they live within Compaſs, they need not fear ſpending of their Eſtates*; let the Author fancy to himſelf, in what manner Perſons *of unqueſtionable good Senſe* [a] would *divert* themſelves with ſuch a Treatiſe, and from thence he may form a Judgment of his own Performance.

It is not ſurely by ſpending his *whole* Income, that a Man grows *rich*, though by not ſpending *more* than his Income, he will preſerve himſelf from growing *poor*.

Every greater Degree of Luxury therefore will create a greater Degree of Poverty in a Nation, or at leaſt it will in Proportion prevent their growing rich. I have

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[t] P. 109. [u] P. 16 and 103. [w] Contents to the firſt Edition. [x] P. 118. [y] P. 163. [z] P. 89. [a] P. 467.

been ſo long upon the Subject already, that I ſhall leave the further Illuſtration of this Truth to a Hand the Reader will like much better. I mean Sir *William Temple in his Obſervations upon the United Provinces*, the Treatiſe our Author referred to ſo judiciouſly before.

After having ſhewn in what manner *Parſimony* enriches a Nation, he ſays [z], 'By this we find out the 'Foundation of the Riches of *Holland*. For never any 'Country traded ſo much, and conſumed ſo little: They 'buy infinitely, but it is to ſell again, either upon Improvement of the Commodity, or at a better Market. He goes on to ſay, that they live upon their worſt Commodities, and export the beſt to other Countries. 'In 'ſhort, they furniſh infinite Luxury, which they never 'practiſe; and traffick in Pleaſures which they never 'taſte.' What I mention this for, is to introduce his Reflection upon their Conduct. Among other Inſtances of falſe Politicks in his Time it ſeems this was one.

'By all this Account of their Trade and Riches, it 'will appear, that ſome of our Maxims are not ſo certain, as they are current, in our common Politicks. 'As firſt, that Example and Encouragement of Exceſs and Luxury, if employed in the Conſumption of 'native Commodities, is of Advantage to Trade: It 'may be ſo to that which impoveriſhes, but is not to 'that which enriches a Country; and is indeed leſs prejudicial, if it lye in native than in foreign Wares. But 'the Cuſtom or Humour of Luxury and Expence, cannot ſtop at certain Bounds: What begins in native will 'proceed in foreign Commodities: and though the Example ariſe among idle Perſons, yet the Imitation

[z] P. 66. This is a Deſcription of their Conduct in *Holland*, before they were tainted with the Luxury he complains of in p. 69.

will

'will run into all Degrees, even of thoſe Men by whoſe 'Induſtry the Nation ſubſiſts. And beſides, the more 'of our own we ſpend, the leſs we ſhall have to ſend 'Abroad; and ſo it will come to paſs, that while we 'drive a vaſt Trade, yet, by buying much more than 'we ſell, we ſhall come to be poor.

A general Luxury then will certainly occaſion a general Poverty, however ſlow the Progreſs of it may appear. But there's another Conſequence of national Luxury that will not require ſo much Time to bring it about. Whenever it becomes a general Vice, and People's Incomes are not ſufficient to ſupply their Extravagancies, any Crimes will be attempted, and any Hazards run to ſupport them. A Poverty occaſioned by Vice and Luxury is not like to make Men more honeſt for the future. Thus at laſt they muſt come to Terms with their Governors, and purchaſe the Indulgence of their Vices, at the Price of their Liberties. Where the Liberties of the People are intruſted in a few Hands, and they themſelves give into this Luxury, the Danger of this will be ſtill greater. As the Purchaſe will come at an eaſier Rate, ſo the Conſideration that they themſelves ſhare only a common Portion of Slavery, and at the ſame Time engroſs the whole Price that is paid for Liberty, will hinder them from inſiſting upon very rigorous Terms. Poverty is of no ſort of Uſe to a Man in making a Bargain, eſpecially when he is dealing with a Miniſter of State. If the Neceſſities of a luxurious People, and the Ambition of deſigning Governors ſhould ever meet, the Conſequence ſeems to be inevitable. A ſmall ſhare of Reading will ſupply any one with Inſtances enough to this Purpoſe; and an Encouragement of Luxury has never been thought an unlikely Method to bring about thoſe Ends. In ſhort, if Luxury conſiſts in the Abuſe of Plenty, or in an Exceſs of *Eaſe*, *Pleaſure*, and *Expence*, it will infallibly *ener-*

vate,

vain, debauch, and *impoverish* a People, of which Slavery is a neceſſary Conſequence. Beſides, nothing is more prejudicial to a People, than a ſudden ſhifting of Property from one to another, even when the whole remains ſtill in the Community; which yet is impoſſible in a trading Country, when this Change of Circumſtances is the Effect of Luxury. If the pooreſt People were to acquire any large Share of Property from the great and wealthy, the Labour and Service of each would be in a good Meaſure loſt to the Publick. For by this Change of their Condition, each of them would be unfit to fill that Station of Life their preſent Circumſtances put them into. The Experience of a better Way of living in the one, and the actual Poſſeſſion of Wealth in the other, would diſqualify them both for the lower or more laborious ſorts of Employment; whilſt the want of preſent Property in the one, and of Knowledge and Education in the other, would incapacitate both for higher Offices. Few Men know how to make a proper Uſe of new got Wealth. There muſt be a previous Education, a long Habit and ſuitable way of Thinking, to fit Men for the great Stations of Life. Wealth, and Power its conſtant Attendants, will be but awkwardly managed by Men, who from their low Situation have always been Strangers to both. The *South-Sea* Directors would make but a very indifferent Privy-Council.

It has been a Cuſtom of long ſtanding in the World, to compliment Nobility with a Portion of hereditary Virtue, derived to them without the leaſt Trouble of their own, which People in lower Life muſt be at the Pains to acquire by Education and Reflection, and be content after all to have ſuch adventitious Virtue kept at a due Diſtance in the Opinion of the World from that other natural ſort which their Betters have conveyed to them with their Blood. Now whether the Nobility

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of any one Age of the World really happened to have a more than ordinary Share of Virtue, and by that means entailed this Piece of Flattery upon their Successors; or whether it was at first only the servile Language of their own Dependants; or whether it was intended as a moral Institution, to point out to them what Virtues they ought to have, and so convince them of the greater Obligation they were under to pursue the publick Good, as the Happiness of many others was intrusted with them, and depended upon their Conduct; (or whatever the Reason was, it is needless at this time to enquire) but our modern Quality seem to be generously inclined to undeceive the World, and effectually convince them, that they have really no such innate Virtue belonging to them. Notwithstanding this, ancient and hereditary Honours must be allowed to have this publick Use attending them: That they create a sort of Pleasure or Vanity in the Owners of them, to preserve that Constitution and People which many of their Ancestors have formerly been instrumental in the Support of, or under which at least they had appeared with Splendor, or filled any considerable Stations; the Merit or Lustre of whose Actions, by the Courtesy of the World, becomes their own Due. This creates some kind of Affection for their Country, a sort of Fondness, like that for a Family Estate, which we often see influences a Man's Conduct, when more reasonable Motives have lost all Weight with him. When to this Consideration is joined a large Share of Property, which at once puts them above Temptation, and gives them a *particular* Interest in the Welfare of the whole, we may, without supposing Men of Quality possessed of much inborn Virtue, generally expect their publick Behaviour to be honest and upright, as far as it regards the Safety of the Constitution they live under. But Luxury

and Prodigality produce the reverse of all this. When a Nobility are become poor, though a Prince should have so much Virtue as not to lay hold of that Opportunity for enlarging the Prerogative, and entrenching upon the Liberties of his People, it must however lay him under a Necessity of creating a new Nobility, who have not these Ties of Affection, none of that Prejudice in favour of the Constitution. 'Twould be easy to illustrate this Matter further, if there were Occasion.

As to Laws that forbid the Use of Ornaments *, or other Expences that are not absolutely necessary to Life and Subsistence, the Wisdom and Policy of them may be judged of by what has been said already. The first Care that any People will naturally take, is to provide Necessaries and Conveniencies, and to secure themselves against Invasion and Encroachment. When these Ends are effectually obtained and secured to them, for their Governors to forbid the Acquisition or Use of Ornaments, is only to forbid them to grow *rich*. What's called *Wealth*, consists only in Ornaments. Now that Wealth tends to Happiness, one would think should not need much Proof; but whether it does or no, it does not come within the present Enquiry, it is sufficient if it be proved that Virtue does not beget Poverty.

* P. 247.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

ANother Inſtance brought to prove the Uſefulneſs of Vice is the Cuſtom of Duelling. Now it will be readily allowed him, that the Practice of good Manners among us, (for want of more effectual Reſtraints) is in Abundance of People owing to the Fear of being called to an Account by the injured Perſon for the contrary Behaviour. But to ſay it is impoſſible People ſhould behave politely to one another without it [a], is to contradict both Reaſon and Experience.

Though perhaps it might be difficult to ſhew how Duelling firſt became faſhionable, 'tis eaſy to account for its continuing ſo, without the Interpoſition of the Magiſtrate to prevent it. The fear of Shame, and the Proſpect of Honour, are both very powerful Motives to human Actions: and as long as the firſt is the certain Conſequence of a Refuſal, and the latter is thought to accompany the giving, or at leaſt the Acceptance of a Challenge, we are not to wonder if Inſtances of this ſort frequently happen. Chriſtianity indeed bids us have Reſpect to a better Recompence, and conſequently a more reaſonable Motive to our Actions, than the Applauſe of the World. But we are not obliged to exclude the Pleaſure ariſing from the other.

We are told by the wiſeſt of Men, what a Value we ought to ſet upon the Eſteem and good Opinion of the World [b]; and *David* makes this reaſonable Requeſt to Heaven, that God would pleaſe to *remove from him Reproach and Contempt* [c]. Indeed without this Regard and Eſteem, it is impoſſible to fill any Station of Life with Advantage to the reſt of Mankind. Thus

Solomon

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[a] P. 242 and 243.
[b] Prov. xxii. 1. and Eccleſ. vii. 1.
[c] Pſal. cxix. 22.

St. *Paul* thought it of great Conſequence to *Titus*, in the Office he was employed in, and worthy his utmoſt Care, that he ſhould not ſuffer himſelf to be *deſpiſed* [d]: and accordingly he makes it a ſufficient Objection againſt any Man's being made a Biſhop of the Church (however blameleſs he may be in himſelf) that he has not the *good Report* of the World [e].

Since then the Deſire of Applauſe is ſo natural to Mankind, and ſo reaſonable in itſelf, 'tis the Buſineſs of the Magiſtrate to endeavour, as far as poſſible, that this Applauſe ſhould be the Reward only of good and beneficial Actions.

Few Men, as *Puffendorf* obſerves [f], can think in ſo abſtracted a manner, as to take Comfort in *Grotius*'s Way of Reaſoning, that *ſince Honour is an Opinion of Excellence, and he that ſuffers ſuch an Injury*, (the Injury he means is a Box o'the Ear) *ſhews himſelf excellently patient, he rather increaſes than leſſens his Honour by it.* * For though this may poſſibly be the *true* Notion of Honour, (in which Opinion of it too we find *Tully* agrees [g]) yet another ſort of Honour now has uſurped the Place of this (ſuch a one as the ſame Author deſcribes in the next Words [h]) which, through the Corruption of the Times, has the ſame Regard paid to it. He who does not conform to the Rules of modern Honour, lies under as great or greater Diſad-

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[d] Tit. ii. 15. [e] 1 Tim. iii. 7. [f] Puffend. L. 2. C. 5. S. 12.

* Grot. de Jur. Bel. & Pac. L. 2. C. 1. Par. 10.

[g] *Is autem qui vere appellari poteſt Honos, non Invitamentum ad Tempus, ſed perpetua virtutis eſt præmium.* Epiſt. L. 10. Epiſt. 10. And again, *Gloria eſt conſentiens Laus bonorum, incorrupta Vox bene Judicantium de excellente Virtute. Ea virtuti reſonat, tanquam Imago.* Tuſc. Quæſt. L. 3.

[h] *Illa autem quæ ſe ejus imitatricem eſſe vult, temeraria atque inconſiderata & plerumque peccatorum vitiorumque laudatrix, fama popularis, ſimulatione honeſtatis formam ejus pulchritudinemque corrumpit.* What follows is applicable to the ſame Purpoſe. But I am afraid our modern Duelliſts have not ſo good an Excuſe for their Conduct. *Qua cæcitate homines cum quædam etiam præclara cuperent, eaque neſcirent, nec ubi nec qualia eſſent, funditus alii everterunt ſuas Civitates, alii ipſi occiderunt. Atque Hi quidem optima petentes, non tam voluntate quam curſus errore falluntur.*

vantages in the Eye of the World, than if he acted contrary to those of Virtue. 'Tis easy to determine, how a Man strictly virtuous *ought* to behave in such a Difficulty, much more a Christian who is bound to forgive Injuries in a greater Degree than the Laws of Nature oblige him to [i]. But this won't excuse the Magistrate in not preventing, as far as possible, the *Difficulty* itself. He should not suffer the Practice of Religion, and a strict Obedience to his own Laws, to lye under so great a Discouragement as the ill Opinion of the People. There are few Countries, I believe, where the Custom of Duelling is not forbid by the Laws. Now it would be highly unjust as well as impolitick, to punish with great Severity the Resentment of Wrongs and Injuries, without providing at the same Time against the Commission of them, and securing to Mankind so great a Conveniency as the Practice of good Manners among them.

King *James* I. in his Treatise, which he calls, *A Publication of* his *Edict against private Combats*, says, the Reason that was given by the most judicious among the *French*, why the Edicts there against Duels had prov'd unsuccessful, was, 'The great Haste used by 'the State itself in prohibiting them with unspeakable 'Severity, before that any Course or Order were set 'down for Reparation to the Party grieved or distem-'per'd, in some such Measure as might be thought to 'be suitable [k].

To supply this Defect in *England*, he appointed a Commission of Lords, all of the Privy Council, to draw up such Regulations as they should think fit, for

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[i] Matt. v. 43, 44. *Ye have heard that it hath been said, thou shalt love thy Neighbour, and hate thine Enemy. But I say unto you*, &c.

[k] A Publication of his Majesty's Edict against private Combats, *p.* 15.

the Reparation of Affronts and Injuries among Gentlemen. All Differences within twenty Miles of *London* to be referr'd to them, and thoſe at a greater Diſtance to the Lord Lieutenant and his Deputies, who were to determine according to the Regulations drawn up by the Lords. The famous Edict of the late King of *France* ſeems to be built upon this very Plan. It will be wondred perhaps, what occaſioned the different Succeſs of one and 'tother: but each will be found to have anſwered the End deſigned by them. The one has totally ſuppreſs'd the Practice of Duelling in *France*, the other gave his Majeſty's Subjects of *Great Britain* an Opportunity of admiring his Scholarſhip. The one is writ with the Solemnity of a Law, the other in the Language of a Schoolman. And tho' Hiſtorians don't ſay that Duels were leſs frequent, or good Breeding more obſerved from that Time, yet Mr. *Cambden* tells us, that four Year after this *his Majeſty made an eloquent Speech againſt Duels* [l]. Beſides, the King himſelf gives a very good Reaſon why his Edict did not effectually put an end to the Practice. After having ſaid that, 'The *Saxons* laid a Fine of five Shillings upon 'every one that miſgreeted his Countryman: He adds, 'that in *France* and the Arch-Duke's Dominions, the 'firſt reproachful Term, *Quod dat eſſe pugnæ*, which 'gives the very Life and Being to a Quarrel, is raiſed 'to ſo high a Rate, as in Compariſon of thoſe our 'Cenſures are conceived to be but Flea-bitings [m].' He proceeds thus; 'Theſe ſharp Ways of proceeding 'bring forth one notable Effect, that rarely in ſeven 'Years a Man ſhall hear in *Spain*, of the paſſing of any

[l] *Cambden's* Annals of *James* I. *Ann.* 1617.

[m] P. 48. One Penalty was, that the Perſon offending ſhould be put out of the Commiſſion of the Peace, and if not in the Commiſſion at that Time, that he ſhould not be put in in ſeven Years. See p. 54, and 55. 'Twas a Puniſhment much more likely to make Challenges unfaſhionable, that the King appoints in p. 113. *To be hereafter baniſhed the Court of* Us, *our deareſt* Bedfellow, *and the Prince our* Son, *for the Space of ſeven Years.*

'ſuch

'ſuch reproachful Word or Accuſation between Per-
'ſons of good Sort, that may provoke them to thoſe
'perſonal Revenges.

By theſe Regulations in *France*, not only Blows and the groſſer Sort of ill Language, but all leſſer Affronts, and even the moſt diſtant Provocations to a Quarrel were puniſhed with great Severity. Beſides which, the Offender was obliged to make a very humble Submiſſion to the Party grieved. And it is apparently true in Fact, that the Fear of thoſe ſevere Puniſhments, and the Shame attending them, have kept People within the Bounds of good Manners, as effectually as the Fear of being called upon to fight did before.

I am afraid, *England* all this while (notwithſtanding the Indulgence People have had to ſhew their Valour by Challenge, as much as they pleaſed) has not gone beyond the *French* in Point of good Breeding; and yet the Prevention of Duelling was much more difficult there, than it could be here. 'Twas a Diſtemper among them almoſt as general as a Plague. We are told, that in ten Years time there had been above ſix thouſand Pardons granted for Murders committed by Duels.

The Regulations above were publiſhed in the Year 1653. The following Year ſomewhat of this kind was again attempted here in *England* by *Oliver Cromwell*: bnt the Puniſhment and Redreſs of Injuries were ſuch as were not likely to put a Stop to the Practice. 'Tis ordained by this Ordinance, *that any Perſon uſing any diſgraceful, provoking Words or Geſtures, ſhould be liable to an Indictment at the Goal Delivery, or general Seſſions of the Peace* [n], and the Judge or Juſtices of the Peace

[n] See *Scobell's* Collections of Acts and Ordinances, *p.* 319. *June* 1654. againſt Challenges, Duels, and all Provocations thereunto.

were

were *to impoſe a Fine to be levied to the Uſe of his Highneſs the Lord Protector and his Succeſſors; and upon Conſideration had, both of the Quality of the Perſon injured, and the Offence committed, Reparation was to be made to the Party wronged, as to the Judge or Juſtices ſhould ſeem meet*; whoſe Knowledge of the Laws (eſpecially ſuch Judges and Juſtices as *they* were) could be of no great Uſe to them in ſettling the Punctilio's of Honour. What had been ſo lately done in *France* might have furniſhed them with likelier Methods for the ſuppreſſing of Duels.

There was one Circumſtance, that contributed not a little to the giving a Check to this Practice. That the King's Edicts might prove the more effectual, vaſt Numbers of the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom entred into a voluntary Aſſociation or Subſcription, by which they ſolemnly bound themſelves never to give or accept a Challenge. And among the Rules for determining Differences, one is, that if a Quarrel ſhould happen between two Gentlemen, of which one had *ſubſcribed*, and the other not, the latter ſhould always be reputed the Aggreſſor, except there appeared evident Proofs to the contrary. By theſe and other Methods, the not giving or refuſing a Challenge became not at all ſcandalous.

But all the Proviſions hitherto mentioned would have been found very inſufficient, without decreeing the ſevereſt Puniſhment for the Breach of this Law, and taking care it ſhould be rigorouſly executed. And that there might be no way to eſcape, all Rencounters where there appeared to be any previous Affront from either of the Parties (of which immediate Information had not been made to the proper Magiſtrate) were puniſhed in the ſame manner as Duels upon Challenge. And though they were fought in other Countries, they were conſidered as if they had happened in *France*. So great

great an Alteration in the Cuſtoms of a Country could not be effected at once. The firſt Edict of the late King's in the Year 1646, being a very ſevere one, and accompanied with the *Subſcription* or Aſſociation mentioned above, begun to give a Check to it; and the King's inflexible Reſolution never to pardon any Offence againſt it, ſtill made a greater Progreſs. The famous Edict in 1679 gave the finiſhing Stroke to it, in the Preamble to which the King attributes the Succeſs of his former Edicts to 'the Stedfaſtneſs it had pleaſ-'ed God to give him in maintaining the Statutes a-'gainſt Duels and private Combats in their utmoſt Se-'verity, and that by reſolving to do ſo for the future, 'he had Ground to hope he might be able during his 'Reign utterly to aboliſh that Crime, after it had been 'in vain attempted by the Kings, his Predeceſſors.

The Show of Courage in moſt Men is proportioned only to the Degree of Hazard they run: and when they have nothing to fear but the Skill and Strength of their Adverſary, which by a moderate Computation, leave them nine Chances in ten for eſcaping with their Lives, it is no wonder Inſtances of ſingle Combat happen ſo frequently. Beſides, that this Hazard of Death is commonly very much leſſened in the Opinion of the angry Gentlemen concerned by an unreaſonable Contempt of their Adverſary, and an unjuſt Preference of their own Abilities to his. But if Men were once made ſenſible, that the Hazard of being killed in the Combat was the leaſt Part of the Danger they incurred; that as certainly as they fought, ſo certainly they ſhould not eſcape Death, both from their Adverſary's Weapons and the Severity of the Law, in all Probability there would be fewer Swords drawn than we ſee at preſent. We are told of a Method uſed by a Mareſchal of *France* to ſuppreſs Duels and Quarrels in his Army, that bears a little hard upon the Courage of ſingle

Combatants.

Combatants. He ordered that the Scene of Action ſhould always be upon a narrow Bridge without Rails, and that Guards ſhould be placed at each End to prevent a Retreat. The Deſign of it was to give the Champions their Choice, to die by each other's Sword, or be drowned°.

That the Certainty of capital Puniſhment would prevent a great deal of this Practice, appears from hence. Fearleſſneſs of an Adverſary is look'd upon as Courage, and as ſuch is accompanied with the Applauſe of the World: But ſhewing a Contempt of the Gallows would gain a Man no other Reputation for Bravery, than it is in every one's Power to attain to, by coining of Money, or taking a Purſe. A Man is not a Jot the better eſteemed for ſitting aſtride a Pinnacle; nor would his Memory be the more regarded, if upon his receiving any Affront from another, any Diſappointment or ill Uſage from the World, he ſhould venture to beat out his own Brains. Now the fighting an Adverſary with a Certainty to be hanged for it, would be looked upon much like ſuch another Piece of Courage.

I ſhall only obſerve further, that though the Law in this Particular is the ſame now it was ſome Ages ago, yet either the Interpretation or the Execution of it is vaſtly different. Had there been the ſame Security formerly for coming off upon Trial, they would ſcarce have thought it worth while (as it was their common Practice) to retire out of the *Britiſh* Dominions to execute a Challenge.

I believe it would be difficult to aſſign any Reaſon, why the ſame Methods that have been found ſo effectual to the putting an end to this Vice in *France*, ſhould

° See *Cockburn* upon Duels, *p.* 346.

not

not meet with a proportionable Succeſs here. If no other Proviſion were made, it ſhould, one would think, be at leaſt taken Care of, that Men ſhould not be obliged to quit the profitable Employments they are bred to (perhaps the only Means they have to ſubſiſt upon) and be turned looſe to the World to ſtarve, for *refuſing* what by the Laws of their Country they are liable to be hang'd for if they *comply* with. Either let the Laws be repealed, or don't let the Obſervance, inſtead of the Breach of them, be puniſhed with ſo much Cruelty. What a ſtrange Interpretation this is of the Opinion of St. *Paul*, who told People, that if they obeyed the Laws, they had ſo little Reaſon to fear the Reſentment of the Magiſtrate, that they had a Right to receive Praiſe, that is, *Honour* at his Hands [p]! But to return to *the Fable*.

If the Cuſtom of Duelling was reckoned a *political* Evil in *France*, and the putting an End to it eſteemed a *publick Benefit*, what ſhould hinder it from being the Intereſt of other Countries to ſuppreſs it by the ſame Methods? Can he mention any one Conveniency attending the Cuſtom of Duelling, which that Kingdom is deprived of, by the Succeſs of the King's Edicts? And if not, has the Author any Pretence to urge this Crime in ſupport of his Scheme? Did that Monarch think it one of the greateſt Glories of his Reign to deſtroy a *publick Benefit*? He, who *in Feats of Arms has outdone* Alexander *and* Cæſar *both, in embelliſhing his Kingdom, and poliſhing his Nation, has exceeded* Auguſtus; *and ſhewed himſelf, both at Home and Abroad, a deeper Politician than* Tiberius [q]? Who *has done Miracles that no other Politician was ever able to perform* [r]?

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[p] Rom. xiii. 3. *Wilt thou then not be afraid of the Power? Do that which is Good, and thou ſhalt have Praiſe of the ſame.*

[q] *The Virgin unmask'd*, by *Bernard Mandeville*, Author of the Fable of the Bees, p. 127. *Edit.* 2.

[r] Ibid. p. 148.

Or was it his Religion in this Inſtance that over-ruled his Politicks? That would be ſtranger ſtill; for at the ſame Time, we are told, he was *a wicked Tyrant* [s].

I have ſaid, that the Practice of good Manners, for want of *more effectual Reſtraints*, was owing to the Fear of being called to an Account for the contrary Behaviour. For beſides that, theſe more effectual Reſtraints were actually experienced in *France*, and would, no doubt, prove effectual elſewhere, it is certain, that a ſtrict Regard to Virtue and Morality would *more effectually* cure the Inconveniencies complained of than either of them. We are now enquiring what would be the Conſequences of a ſtrict and univerſal Morality: and if good Manners, Courteſy, Affability, and a quiet Diſpoſition come into the Number of moral Virtues, (as certainly they ought) all the Conveniencies and happy Effects of theſe upon a Society, ought to be aſcribed to the Practice of Morality. The Spirit of Virtue, as well as Religion, is mild and gentle. To be courteous, peaceable, quiet, not provoking one another, to avoid Bitterneſs, Wrath, Clamour, and ill Language, are the Precepts of natural Reaſon, confirmed to us by Revelation. And it is an Inſtruction in Point of Prudence and preſent Conveniency, as well as Duty, to be well bred, from the great Hazard Men run from the contrary Behaviour [t]. Nay, *Solomon* tells us, that Honour itſelf confirms thoſe Leſſons of Religion and Prudence [u].

If then we put the Inſtance before us in the ſtrongeſt Light in favour of the Author and his Opinions, it can't ſerve the grand Purpoſe of his Scheme. For if

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[s] Ibid. p. 127.

[t] Pſal. xxxiv. 12, 13. *What Man is he that deſireth Life, and loveth many Days, that he may ſee Good? Keep thy Tongue from Evil, and thy Lips from ſpeaking Guile.* And 1 Pet. iii. 10.

[u] Prov. xx. 3. *It is an Honour for a Man to ceaſe from Strife,*

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it ſhould be allowed him (though it is far from being true) that a Toleration of ſome Crimes in a general Depravity of Manners, is the likelieſt Means to prevent greater Crimes, or greater Inconveniencies, and that this ſhould be true particularly in the Caſe of *Dueling*; yet it is far from ſhewing the *Uſefulneſs* of ſuch Depravity or Vice; it rather demonſtrates the vaſt Miſchief of it, as ſomething that makes a Toleration of leſſer Inconveniencies *neceſſary*. And, I preſume, it won't be denied, that a punctual Regard to Virtue in all its Branches, would prevent all the Inconveniencies, which for want of that Virtue, it is ſuppoſed to be the Duty of the Magiſtrate to cure by leſs innocent, as well as leſs effectual Remedies.

Whatever the Author may think fit to urge for himſelf by way of Apology, the Deſign of his Book is not to ſhew the Folly of *Quarrelling at what no human Prudence can prevent* [x], but to ſhew the Folly of *preventing* ſuch Evil at all. Though no *human* Prudence can extirpate all Evil, he won't deny, ſurely, that the Power of Heaven can work ſuch a *Miracle*. And he is all along ridiculing People's Folly, not for deſiring an impoſſible Thing; but for procuring *in fact*, by Miracle, ſuch a general Virtue, and conſequently ſuch a general Poverty. If his Deſign had been otherwiſe, though it might appear leſs impious and ſhocking, it would certainly appear more weak and impertinent. The Poſition laid down in his Title Page, to be proved in the Courſe of his Work, is, that *private Vices* are *publick Benefits*. Now if to prove this Poſition, all that he attempts to ſhew is, that let the Magiſtrate do what he can to root out Vice, he can't do this ſo *effectually*, but that *ſome* will ſtill remain; the Reader

[x] P. 49.

must certainly think, that he has advanced a Principle which he *durſt not* maintain, or if he did intend to maintain it, that his Arguments for that Purpoſe are exceſſively *weak*. He will come off very well, if he only falls under *one Part* of the Cenſure. But what his Deſigns were, I ſhall have Occaſion to obſerve more at large by and by.

What a Pleaſure to him it is to abuſe any thing that is called a moral Virtue, though it be at his own Expence! *To be at once well bred and ſincere is a Contradiction* [y]. If he were asked which of the two inconſiſtent Qualities, *good Breeding* or *Sincerity*, he chooſes to part with in his ordinary Converſation and Friendſhips, it would puzzle him to anſwer it. But the Reader will determine it for him, for *good Breeding* every Man will expect in a Companion, though the want of the other may be better concealed.

One Word more before we leave this Subject of Honour. *Tully* we find makes the Difference between Virtue and Honour to be this, that Honour is the Applauſe the judicious part of the World beſtow upon the Practice of Virtue; which the Reader, it is likely, will think a pretty good Account of the Matter, only that it is a kind of Honour, like *the Worſhip of Diana*, ſomewhat *out of Faſhion* [z]. But the Difference between Virtue and Honour upon the preſent Foot, and the diſproportionate Numbers of their Votaries is adjuſted with great Exactneſs by the Author of *the Fable*. *The Reaſon why there are ſo few Men of real Virtue, and ſo many of real Honour, is, becauſe all the Recompence a Man has of a virtuous Action, is the Pleaſure of doing it, which moſt People reckon but poor Pay; but the Self-denial a Man of Honour ſubmits to in one Appetite, is immediately rewarded by the Satisfaction he*

[y] P. 201. [z] P. 342.

receives

receives from another [a]. That is, the Reaſon why there are ſo few Men of real Virtue, and ſo many of real Honour, is, that the Recompence of the firſt is the Pleaſure of doing it, the Reward of the laſt the Satisfaction received from it. The firſt *moſt People reckon but poor Pay*, the laſt all Men know to be a very ſubſtantial Reward. This is not a Miſtake in Expreſſion; it is a Blunder that his way of Thinking neceſſarily doom'd him to. For no doubt but *the Pleaſure* of doing an Action, is the only Motive human Nature can act upon. It is what we have in View, and can't but have in View, in every individual Circumſtance of our Lives. And this the worſt *Syſtem of Ethicks* [b] he could have picked out, might have told him; nay more, his own Book might have ſet him right [c].

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[a] P. 246. [b] P. 467.

[c] P. 491. There is no Difference between Will and Pleaſure in one Senſe, and every Motion made in ſpight of them muſt be unnatural and convulſive. *And juſt before*, It is impoſſible that Man, mere fallen Man, ſhould act with any other View but to pleaſe himſelf.

Man, MERE FALLEN MAN, ſays he. *How dull and contemptible muſt ſuch a Joke upon any other Subject than Religion have been thought! For the ſake of this Ridicule he has made arrant Nonſenſe of the whole Sentence.* To act with a View to pleaſe himſelf, *is ſo far from being the Indication of* a fallen State, *from being a Mark of Imperfection in our Make, that it is impoſſible for us as much as to conceive that Angels themſelves, or any more perfect Being, ſhould act upon any other Motive; let the Cauſe of that Pleaſure be what it will.*

SECT. V.

SINCE we are told *the Fable of the Bees is a Rhapſody void of Order or Method* [d], the Reader can't expect any exact Connexion or Regularity to be obſerved in the Anſwer to it. This is the only Excuſe I ſhall make for taking this Occaſion to give ſome Account of the Author's Opinions, with Regard both to

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[d] P. 467.

Morality

Morality and Religion; and as to the first, to shew how many Writers, and what *kind* of Writers he is obliged to for this lovely Scheme, which he will give you his Word for, is *beyond any other System of Ethicks* [e]; and to shew likewise in what a weak, inconsistent, prevaricating manner he has defended those Opinions.

Now the Opinions themselves, allowing for some little Improvement of his own upon them, are of very old Date. They seem to have had their Rise with Atheism itself.

Theodorus surnamed *Atheus* (and who was indeed one of the first upon Record, who, in so many Words, denied the Being of a God) professed among other Opinions very like our Author's, *that Theft, Adultery, and Sacrilege, were proper in their Season, there being no Turpitude in such Things in their own Nature, separate from Opinion, which was agreed upon to keep Fools in Order* [f]; *that a wise Man might openly use the Persons he loved with a good Countenance*, and then by an ingenious Argument, endeavours to shew the Innocency of such Commerce with either Sex as you liked best. *That Friendship and a Regard for your Country were foolish and ridiculous.* A part of this Doctrine he learnt from his Master *Aristippus*; *that there was nothing just, or excellent, or shameful in its Nature, but as Law and Custom made it so* [g]; *that there was no such thing as*

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[e] P. 467.

[f] He lived about the Year 360 before Christ. *Diagoras* who was dignified in the same manner, lived about a hundred Years before him. *Diagoras, Atheos qui dictus est, posteaque Theodorus, nonne aperte Deorum Naturam sustulerunt?* Cic. de Nat. Deor. L. 1.

[g] Κλέψαν τε καὶ μοιχεύσειν, &c. *Diog. Laert.* in the Life of *Aristippus*. Compare this with *the Fable of the Bees* from these Words, *The first Rudiments of Morality broached by skilful Politicians*, p. 33. And p. 373. *I shall examine into the Reality of the* pulchrum & honestum: ——*The meaning of this is to discuss, whether there be a real Worth and Excellency in Things, a Pre eminence of one above another.* And p. 380. *The hunting after this* pulchrum & honestum, *is not much better than a wild-Goose-Chase.*

[h] Μηδεν τε εἶναι φύσει δίκαιον. *Diog. Laert.* ibid.

Kindness,

Kindneſs, Friendſhip, or Beneficence, and that they were only practiſed upon a ſelfiſh Principle, and that they had no Being without it.

Bion Boryſthenites was a Scholar of this *Theodorus*, and in his Opinions and Practices full as wicked as himſelf: but when he found himſelf near his End, he who had made a Jeſt of the Gods, and ridiculed Men for the Worſhip of them, died not only with all the Horror which a Senſe of Guilt could give him, but fell into the loweſt Superſtition, and among other Inſtances of it, of which there is a particular Account [i], had an old Woman to try Charms upon him.

The Doctrine of *Pyrrho*, who lived about the ſame Time, was much to the ſame Purpoſe. He ſaid, *There was nothing excellent, or ſhameful, or juſt, or unjuſt* [k]; *and ſo of other Things*; *that there was nothing* in Reality, *but that Men did every Thing from Law and Cuſtom, that one Thing was not rather to be choſen than another*; or as the Author of the *Fable* has ſtumbled upon a pretty good Explanation of his Words, there is *no real Worth and Excellency in things, no Pre-eminence of one above another* [l]. *His Life*, we are told in the next Words, *was agreeable to his Opinions*. From this *Pyrrho*, *Scepticks* were called *Pyrrhonians*, or *Pyrrhoniſts*; and from hence that Treatiſe of *Sextus Empiricus* [m] had its Name; in one Part of which he endeavours to overturn the Certainty of Right and Wrong, Virtue and Vice, by collecting a great many monſtrous Opinions and Cuſtoms of People contrary to the common ones. From hence, or rather from *Montaigne* [n],

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[i] *Diog. Laert.* in the Life of *Bion*.
[k] Οὐδὲν γὰρ πρᾶσσειν οὔτε καλόν, &c. *Diog. Laert.* in the Life of Pyrrho.
[l] P. 373.
[m] *Pyrrhon. Hypotypoſ.* [n] *Moral. Eſſ. L.* 1. *c.* 22.

who

who has borrowed it from hence, has our Author again borrowed what he has given us to the ſame Purpoſe, and in Purſuit of the ſame laudable End [o].

Much of the ſame kind is the Diſputation of *Carneades* in *Lactantius* [p]. *Jura ſibi homines pro utilitate ſanxiſſe, ſcilicet varia pro moribus, & apud eoſdem pro temporibus ſæpe mutata*; in ſhort, *that there is no ſuch thing as natural Right or Juſtice, or if there be, that none but a Fool would practiſe them* [p].

To this Purpoſe is that Expreſſion of *Horace*, *ipſa utilitas juſti prope mater & æqui* [q]. He is expoſing the Abſurdity of that Opinion of the *Stoicks*, defended by *Tully* [r], *æqualia eſſe peccata* [s]; but, ſays he, *when you come to the Proof of it, ſenſus moreſque repugnant, atque ipſa utilitas juſti prope mater & æqui.* Now if there be a Difference in Faults, it is a Proof in itſelf, that the *juſtum & æquum*, have their Original in the very *Nature* of Things, and do not ariſe from *Profit* or *Conveniency*. He confutes himſelf yet more plainly afterwards. *Jura inventa metu injuſti fateare neceſſe eſt, Tempora ſi faſtoſque velis evolvere mundi. Nec natura poteſt juſto ſecernere iniquum, Dividit ut bona diverſis, fugienda petendis:* He then adds, *Nec vincet ratio hoc, tantumdem ut peccet, idemque, Qui teneros caules alieni infregerit horti, Et qui nocturnus Divûm ſacra legerit.* He means ſomewhat more than barely, that Reaſon does *not* prove the Crimes to be the ſame; he means that Reaſon *does*

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[o] See his *Search into the Nature of Society*, from theſe Words, *In Morals there is no greater Certainty*, &c. p. 379. This was the common Argument againſt the intrinſick Difference of Good and Evil in *Cicero's* Time. *Sed perturbat nos Opinionum Varietas hominumque diſſentio: & quia non idem contingit in ſenſibus, hos natura certos putamus: illa, quæ aliis ſic, aliis ſecus, nec iiſdem ſemper uno modo videntur, ficta eſſe dicimus. Quod eſt longe aliter.* &c. de Leg. l. 1. c. 17.

[p] Lact. L. 5. c. 16.

[q] Hor. Sat. L. 1. Sat. 3. v. 98.

[r] Paradox. 3.

[s] V. 96.

ſhew

ſhew the contrary, and if Reaſon does ſhew this Difference, the ſame Light of Reaſon will evince yet more ſtrongly the Difference between Right and Wrong. It is impoſſible that he who has no Notion of a *ſtrait* Line, ſhould determine which Lines are *moſt* crooked. Without ſuppoſing the firſt, it is abſurd to ſay there is any ſuch Thing as the laſt. *Adſit regula*, ſays he, *peccatis quæ pœnas irroget æquas.* Nature or Reaſon is that Rule, which as it makes a Difference between Right and Wrong, ſo between the Degrees of Wrong. That, *Jura inventa metu injuſti*, does not prove at all againſt this: For beſides that, a *Juſtum* muſt be ſuppoſed before the Fear of the contrary could ſubſiſt; the moſt that can be inferred from it, is, that all Men would not be prevailed upon to practiſe this natural *Juſtice*, without the Aſſiſtance of human Laws, or rather Puniſhments to oblige them to it.

But among all theſe vile and atheiſtical Opinions, we don't find that the Profeſſors of them ever carried the Matter ſo far, as to think the Practice of Vice and Wickedneſs for the good of Mankind in general. Indeed *Theodorus* and *Bion* [t] did all they could to recommend them, and to make all Virtues, and eſpecially Modeſty [u], appear odious and contemptible: But then it was only from the Pleaſure that attended the Practice of Wickedneſs, and the natural Indifference between one Action and another. They had not yet diſcovered, that Vice and Roguery were *publick Benefits*; much leſs

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[t] *Neque enim ſcelera laudare ſatis reputabant niſi virtutes omnes, & imprimis modeſtiam, in publicum odium & contemptum protraherent.* vid. Parkeri Diſputationes de Deo. p. 21.

[u] Compare this with p. 153. of the Fable, where he is ridiculing the Simplicity of thoſe, who, by the Contrivance of skilful Moraliſts, are taught to conceal or diſguiſe their darling Paſſion, *Luſt. Oh! the mighty Prize we have in View for all our Self-denial! Can any Man be ſo ſerious as to abſtain from Laughter*, &c.

do we find any elaborate Treatiſes writ to prove ſo monſtrous an Opinion. This Diſcovery ſeems to have been reſerved for the happy Invention of *Engliſhmen*; and from the Creation downward, there has been no Point of Time more proper for the Diſcovery of this Opinion, than that of the grand Rebellion; an Opinion, to which Men could ſo eaſily reconcile their hellish Practices. At that Time there were ſome who aſſerted roundly, 'That the Acts of Lying, Stealing, Cozening and Defrauding others; that the Acts of Murther, Adultery, Inceſt, Fornication, Uncleanneſs, Sodomy, and Drunkenneſs, were not Things in themſelves ſhameful or wicked, but as holy and righteous as any religious Duties: That all HAPPINESS conſiſted in the acting theſe Things; and that there was no ſuch Thing really and truly as Unrighteouſneſs or Sin, but as People judged of them.'

It is amazing that theſe comfortable Opinions ſhould not gain more Proſelytes. But ſo low and infamous were the Authors of them look'd upon, that Hiſtory has not preſerved their very Names to us, and we can only know that there were ſuch Men, by a publick Act, that even the Governors of thoſe Times thought themſelves obliged to paſs againſt all ſuch *atheiſtical, blaſphemous, and execrable Opinions* [w], with an Aſſurance only in the Preamble that ſuch had been lately broached. And from hence our Author ſeems to have borrowed what was wanting in the Syſtems of *Ariſtippus*, *Theodorus*, *Bion*, *Pyrrho*, and *Sextus Empiricus*, towards compleating that beautiful Plan delivered to us in *the Fable of the Bees*. I own it is poſſible our Author may not have gone ſo far for theſe Opinions; they have been copied by ſeveral *French* Writers, and, with great

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[w] See *Scobell's* Collections of Acts and Ordinances, *Auguſt* 1650.

Skill

Skill and good Language, ſpread through their whole Works.

The Opinions condemned above were conſiſtent and uniform. But the Author of the *Fable*, though in ſome Places he has defended theſe Notions in the ſame Latitude with his Predeceſſors, yet has thought it proper, for Reaſons that will appear by and by, to inſert ſo many Cautions and Limitations, to ſcatter up and down ſuch aukward Excuſes for himſelf and his Work, as the Reader will certainly believe to be as inconſiſtent with his real Opinions, as theſe Opinions are with common Senſe or Honeſty.

It is one of his favourite Opinions, that in every Country there ought to be a Toleration of *Publick Stews*, or *Temples of Venus*. The Magiſtrate muſt connive at them, but he muſt not encourage them; he ought to tolerate them, but ſtill continue to abominate them. And then from the Inſtance of *Holland*, he tells you, the Magiſtrates do well, to be *always ſqueezing them of their immoderate Gains, puniſhing thoſe neceſſary Profligates, the Bawds and Panders* [x], and laying them under all poſſible Marks of Infamy. But ſurely, if they do ſo much Service to the Publick, it ſhould rather be the Duty of the Magiſtrate upon *his* Principles to erect Statues to their Honour. For the ſame Reaſons that plead for a *Toleration*, are equally ſtrong for all poſſible *Encouragement* that can be ſhewn them. The Reaſon he gives why they ſhould be *tolerated*, is [y] to prevent a much greater Crime, that of Adultery. The more Reputation therefore Stews are in, the leſs Occaſion (according to his Scheme) there ſhould be for Adultery. For a Toleration of theſe *Temples of Ve-*

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[y] P. 97. [x] P. 98.

nus [z], is not, I preſume, upon the ſame Foot with a Toleration of meer ſpeculative Errors in Religion, which it is the Duty of the Magiſtrate barely to *allow of*, but not to *encourage*. As much as we have heard of *natural Rights* of late Years, I don't remember it has ever *yet* been gravely aſſerted in print, that a Liberty of Whoring comes into the Number of them. If then it be only the good Policy of the Governors (as a Means to prevent Adultery) that this Toleration is owing to, it ought to reach much further, and Whores, Bawds, and Panders, ſo far from being laid under particular Hardſhips and Diſcouragements, ought to be put upon the ſame Foot with all other worthy Promoters of the Commonweal.

Adultery it ſeems is the Miſchief to be provided againſt. *Adultery* then (though it be a very heinous Crime) is prejudicial to Society. Now if leſſer Vices are to be indulged only as they prevent *greater ones*, it would be the Duty of the Magiſtrate to extirpate *all ſort* of Vice *if he could*, and by the moſt innocent Methods poſſible. For if *Prevention* of Vice be the End propoſed, it is his Duty to *prevent* every Degree of it. But this is contrary to his whole Scheme: for the Extirpation of Vice and Roguery, is the Evil and Folly he complains of. He does not, as was obſerved juſt now, blame his *grumbling Hive* for taking *improper Methods* to root out Vice, but for rooting it out *at all*; that is, for making a *rich* and *thriving* Hive to become an *honeſt* one, and conſequently a *poor* one. What a fine conſiſtent Syſtem of *Ethicks* is this! Whores are of great Service to a Commonwealth, and yet it is the Duty of the Magiſtrate upon *State Principles*, to lay Whores and their Keepers under unequal Taxes,

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[z] P. 97. The Muſick in theſe *Temples of Venus* is performed by Organs, &c.

Hardſhips,

Hardſhips and Diſcouragements! All *private Vices* are *publick Benefits*; but it is the Duty of the Magiſtrate upon *State Principles* to prevent Adultery, by allowing of Fornication!

It would be tedious to take particular Notice of all ſuch ſhuffling Paſſages; thoſe that follow will ſerve as a Specimen of the reſt.

Rogues *are very pernicious to human Society, and every Government ought to take all imaginable Care to root out and deſtroy them* [a]. It follows in the next Words, *yet if all People were ſtrictly honeſt, Smiths and other Tradeſmen would want Employment*, and all that depend upon Vice would *ſtarve* [b]. And again, *The Moment Evil ceaſes, the Society is ſpoiled, if not totally diſſolved* [c]. It ſeems, it is the Duty of the Magiſtrate to *take all imaginable Care to* do, what, if he can do *effectually*, he is ſure will ruin his Country.

He is far *from encouraging Vice* [d], and yet they are the worſt of Women, and the moſt profligate of their Sex, that are the moſt *beneficial* [e].

Players and other diſſolute People, *Gluttons, Epicures, Paraſites, Pimps, Sharpers, Pickpockets, Coiners, Fortune-Tellers*, and ſuch like, *are certainly the Bane of civil Society* [f], and yet *Evil moral as well as natural is the ſolid Baſis, the Life and Support of all Trades and Employments without Exception, the true Origin of all Arts and Sciences* [g].

He does not *bid Men be vicious* [h], but he gives them warning, *that the Moment Evil ceaſes, the Society muſt be ſpoiled, if not totally diſſolved* [i].

He *never ſaid, nor imagined, that Man could not be virtuous as well in a rich and mighty Kingdom, as in the moſt pitiful Commonwealth*; *but* he *owns it is* his *Senſe*,

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[a] P. 82. [b] P. 81. [c] P. 428. [d] P. 95.
[e] P. 250. [f] P. 49. Line 1. [g] P. 428.
[h] P. 257. Line 20. [i] P. 428.

that

that no Society can be raiſed into ſuch a rich and mighty Kingdom, or ſo raiſed, ſubſiſt in their Wealth and Power for any conſiderable Time, without the Vices of Man [k]. That is, in plain Words, he is not ſo naughty as to imagine, that Man could not be virtuous in a rich and mighty Kingdom, as well as elſewhere; all his Senſe is, that it is impoſſible it ſhould be a rich and mighty Kingdom where Man is virtuous.

Though by telling People that *Honeſty is a mean, ſtarving Principle* [l], he has *ſhewn the Way to worldly Greatneſs* [m], yet he *deſires no Body to make any Inferences from them* [n].

He lays it down as a firſt Principle, that in all Societies, great and ſmall, it is the Duty of every Member of it to be good; Virtue ought to be encouraged, and Vice diſcountenanced [o]. *Why ſo? Becauſe no Vice is ever able to ſhake the Conſtitution* [p]. *Every Member ought to be good*, becauſe when *every Part is full of Vice*, the whole Maſs will be a *Paradiſe* [q].

Virtue ought to be encouraged, and Vice diſcountenanced, and yet, *Good will ſpring up, and pullulate from Evil as naturally as Chickens do from Eggs* [r]; that is, it is the Duty of the Magiſtrate to *encourage* the Breed of Chickens, but he muſt, do all he can, to *diſcountenance* the laying of Eggs.

'Tis plain then, theſe ſoftening Expreſſions are not thruſt in to explain the reſt of his Book (unleſs Contradicting be Explaining) but to ſerve ſome other Purpoſe. Whenever he ſhould be charged with the Wickedneſs of his Opinions, though it would be difficult to defend *them*, it might be eaſy however to quote other Expreſſions that are very harmleſs, or at worſt ſuch as are nothing to the Purpoſe. This is in fact the common Uſe

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[k] P. 255. [l] P. 105. [m] P. 258. [n] Pref. p. 9.
[o] P. 255. [p] P. 116. *at the Bottom.* [r] *The Fable*, p. 9.
[q] P. 89.

he

he makes of them, in (what he calls) his *Vindication*. For Inſtance.

He tells you he has been charged with Impiety, in aſſerting, that moral *Evil* conſtitutes the Happineſs of Mankind, that *it is the ſolid Baſis*, &c. *Theſe Words*, he owns, *are in the Book, and being both innocent and true*, are *like to remain there* [r]. To prove them innocent, he cites another Paſſage, in which he ſays, moſt of the ingenious Things Mankind have found out, have been *to aſſiſt their Weakneſs, or ſupply their Wants*; *than which* (as he ſays of another Place) it muſt be owned *nothing can be more harmleſs* [s]. Upon this he breaks out into a judicious Surprize, *but what Relation has all this to Religion or Infidelity, more than it has to Navigation or the Peace in the North* [u]? Why truly ſcarce ſo much: But I hope it is not the Readers Fault it is not more to the Purpoſe. There can be no Harm in aſſerting, that *all human Happineſs conſiſts in Roguery*, becauſe if Men could have any Thing brought them only for wiſhing for, and could be carried over the World upon a *Pegaſus*, there would be no Occaſion for Shipping or Poſt-Chaiſes. *It is from the Neceſſities of Men that Trades ariſe* [w]; for as he very well obſerves, if there were no *Wants*, how could they be *ſupplied* [x]? After this with what becoming Inſolence does he look down upon Mankind, and bid them, in the next Words, not *meddle with Books above their Sphere* [y]?

He is ſo confident, that this will paſs with the courteous Reader for a ſufficient Defence of himſelf and his Opinions, that he can't help talking in Triumph over his Adverſary, and pointing out the future Honours that ſhall be paid to his Work. The offenſive Paſſage

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[r] P. 464. [s] P. 468. [u] P. 466. [w] P. 467.
[x] P. 424. Whilſt we are employed in ſupplying the infinite Variety of our Wants.
[y] P. 467.

is to remain there *in all future Impreſſions* [a]. No doubt on't; he feels all the Pleaſure as well as Uneaſineſs of his *Friend Horace* [b]. He writes to late Poſterity, *Ego poſtera creſcam laude recens*; and *all People of Knowledge and Education* [c], of *elevated Minds* [d], *of great Probity and Virtue, and unqueſtionable good Senſe* [e], will continue to read his Book with freſh Pleaſure. He ſees Immortality in his Work; for as he is *ſatisfied it has diverted Perſons of unqueſtionable good Senſe already*, he is *in no Fear that it will ever ceaſe to do ſo* [f].

He is ſenſible that any Defence of Vice and Wickedneſs, more ingenious it is, the more miſchievous it is; therefore with Regard to any good, well-meaning Men that may complain of his Book, he is ſo kind as to promiſe, that he *would never quarrel with the Man who ſhould tell him it might as well have been let alone*; *yet he always thought* (and with very good Reaſon too) *it would pleaſe Men of any tolerable Taſte, and not be eaſily loſt* [g].

After this it is odds but the Reader agrees with him in the Words that immediately follow, that *his Vanity he could never conquer ſo well as could be wiſhed* [h]; and yet after all, how does he know but it might be that very Vanity that diverted the *Perſons* he means?

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[a] P. 464.

[b] P. 386, I felt all the Uneaſineſs my Friend *Horace* complains of, *&c.*

[c] P. 467.

[d] P. 470. I write not to many, nor ſeek for any Well-wiſhers, but among the few that— have their Minds elevated above the Vulgar. *See the whole Paſſage.* The infamous Vanini (*who we ſhall hear by and by* died a Martyr for Atheiſm) *made juſt ſuch another Speech for himſelf and his Opinions, Quæ a me ſcribuntur, quo a vulgo ſunt remotiora, eo propinquiora calumniæ.*

[e] P. 467.

[f] P. 467, 468. Such as it is, I am ſatisfied that it has diverted Perſons of great Probity and Virtue, and unqueſtionable good Senſe; and I am in no fear that it will ever ceaſe to do ſo whilſt it is read by ſuch.

[g] P. 472. I would never quarrel with the Man who ſhould tell me that it might as well have been let alone; yet I always thought it would pleaſe Men of any tolerable Taſte, and not be eaſily loſt.

[h] P. 472.

If

If the Reader would know upon what it is he grounds his Hopes, what are the particular Excellencies of the Work that give him this pleaſing Proſpect, let him take them as the Author has pointed them out with great Eloquence himſelf. Whoever has been uſed to run over the Advertiſements at the end of our weekly Papers, can't be unacquainted with the Stile, for it is writ in the true Spirit of a Quack Bill.

After having aſſured the Reader that *the Fable of the Bees was deſigned for the Entertainment*, not of the Vulgar, but *of People of Knowledge and Education*, he goes on, *It is a Book of ſevere and exalted Morality, that contains a ſtrict Teſt of Virtue, an infallible Touch-ſtone to diſtinguiſh the real from the counterfeited, and ſhews many Actions to be faulty that are palmed upon the World for good ones: It deſcribes the Nature and Symptoms of human Paſſions, detects their Force and Diſguiſes; and traces Self-love in its darkeſt Receſſes; I might ſafely add* (that is, if his Modeſty would let him) *beyond any other Syſtem of Ethicks* [i].

He had before acquainted the Reader with his Abilities for this great Work. In Page 118. he ſays, with an affected Modeſty, that *he has ſeen ſomething of the World*, which he explains afterwards in a Stile more natural to him, *I have ſearched through every Degree and Station of Men* [k]. Again, *The ſhort-ſighted Vulgar in the Chain of Cauſes ſeldom can ſee further than one Link* [l]. Then with a pretty Variety of Expreſſion, intimates to you, how different his own Caſe is from that of the Vulgar; that he, by *gazing* much (not on the Chain of Cauſes, but) *on the Proſpect of concatenated Events*, is arrived to that Perfection, that he can plainly *ſee Good ſpring up and pullulate from Evil*, exactly in the manner

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[i] P. 467. [k] P. 163. [l] P. 89.

the reſt of the World ſee *Chickens pullulate from Eggs*, or painted Butterflies grow out of ill-favoured Maggots: That he has acquired great *Skill in anatomizing the inviſible Part of Man* [m], and that he *can ſee a Man think*, and tell you what he thinks, or very near it, *as plainly as he can ſee the Noſe in his Face* [n].

After all this the Reader will be ſurprized to find he could humble himſelf ſo far as to put his Parts and Abilities upon a Level with thoſe of *Montaigne*. *It was ſaid of* Montaigne *that he was pretty well verſed in the Defects of Mankind, but unacquainted with the Excellencies of human Nature: If I fare no worſe I ſhall think myſelf well uſed* [o]. I have heard of ſome low Retainers to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, who are remarkable for underſtanding only the *wrong* ſide of the Law. Underſtanding the *wrong* Side of human Nature ſeems to be a Character of the ſame Kind. You ſee he has a great Mind to paſs for ſuch another as *Montaigne*. He knew he had but one Chance for it, and that was by pilfering from him wherever he had an Opportunity. This he has done with no ſparing Hand. So that his Book in many Places is indeed very like *Montaigne*'s, a perfect *Alter Idem*. Mr. *Bayle* has been extreamly uſeful to him in the ſame manner. Mr, *Eſprit* [p] too he has been mighty free with; and very often *Rochefocault* [q]. So that the Author of this *infallible Touchſtone*, this new *Syſtem of Ethicks*, *beyond any other*, will come out to be very little more than a Retailer of other Mens Impieties, and that ſometimes at the third and fourth Hand.

But who is this penetrating Genius, that his Ambition and Vanity put him upon thinking he reſembles?

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[m] P. 153.

[n] P. 409. I have ſeen a Man think all this, or ſomething like it, as plainly, as I could ſee the Noſe in his Face.

[o] Pref. p. 3 *and* 4.

[p] Mr. *Eſprit's la fauſſete des Vertus humaines.*

[q] Moral Reflections.

Why,

Why, but an entertaining Trifler at beſt, and very often not that. There appears perhaps at firſt ſight a Variety of Knowledge and Reading in his Works. The Reaſon is, that other Writers are content to give you as much of their Knowledge, as is to the preſent Purpoſe. This Author tells you all that he knows, and all he thinks, not upon *that Subject*, but at *that Time*, without taking it for any Objection that it ſerves to no Purpoſe at all.

The taxing him with *Impiety*, puts me in mind of another Piece of Vanity of his, more inſufferable than any that has been yet taken Notice of. *The Fable of the Bees* is not only a very ingenious, clever, learned Piece, that muſt *pleaſe Men of any tolerable Taſte, and not be eaſily loſt* [r]: But what is uſing the Reader ſtill worſe, he ſays, you muſt conſider it as a very virtuous, good, and pious Treatiſe, as a *Book of ſevere and exalted Morality*, that *has diverted Perſons of Probity*, as well as *unqueſtionable good Senſe* [s].

Both theſe Characters he inſiſts upon, and the great Merit due to him upon both Accounts, he diſplays to you in the following Paſſage. After having ſaid that he writes to thoſe *who have their Minds elevated above the Vulgar* [t], he goes on; *If I have ſhewn the Way to worldly Greatneſs, I have always, without Heſitation, preferred the Road that leads to Virtue* [u]. The meaning is this. ‘ Tho' I have in the foregoing Treatiſe ſhewn ‘ myſelf greatly skill'd in State Affairs, by pointing out to ‘ *Magiſtrates and Politicians* [w] the Way that will infal- ‘ libly carry a Society to the higheſt Pitch of worldly ‘ Greatneſs, yet (ſuch is my Regard to Virtue) I have ‘ bid them beware how they follow theſe Maxims; ‘ though I have demonſtrated, that Poverty is the ne-

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[r] P. 472. [s] P. 467. [t] P. 257 *and* 258. [u] P. 258.
[w] P. 469.

 ceſſary

'ceſſary Effect of Virtue, as Wealth and Grandeur are 'the Conſequence of well-practiſed Roguery, yet I 'don't bid Men be vicious; on the other Side, I have 'always bid them prefer that *ſtarving* Principle of *Ho-'neſty* to any Conſiderations of Riches or worldly 'Greatneſs. *There is not a Line in the Book that con-'tradicts this Doctrine, and I defy my Enemies to diſ-'prove it*[x].' Who would have thought ſo great and ſo good a Man could have had any Enemies at all? But ſince ſuch there are, who are probably malicious enough to deny that *the Fable of the Bees*, at leaſt, can entitle him to either Part of the Character, if he would allow me to adviſe him, he ſhould compound the Matter with them, and drop one of theſe Pretenſions for the better Security of the other.

If then, in Compliment to the Author's Parts, it ſhould be ſaid that he was drawn into the Inconſiſtencies mentioned before, from the fear of defending his Opinions in that Latitude in which they were firſt broached; yet even in this View he is extremely unhappy in his Conduct, (as indeed he is ſeldom conſiſtent in any thing;) for in ſome Places he has aſſerted what amounts to as much, and in others has *exalted* his Scheme to a ſtill greater Height.

'That the Acts of Lying, Stealing, Couſening and 'Defrauding others, the Acts of Murder, Adultery, 'Inceſt, Fornication, Uncleanneſs, Sodomy, Drun-'kenneſs, *&c.* were not Things in themſelves 'ſhameful or wicked, but as People judged of them, 'were the Opinions aſſerted long ago.' In his Search into the Nature of Society, he ſays, he *ſhall examine into the Reality of the* pulchrum & honeſtum, *the* Τὸ καλὸν *that the Ancients have talked*

[x] P. 470, 471.

of

of ſo much. The meaning of this is to diſcuſs whether there be a real Worth and Excellency in things, a Pre-eminence of one above another [y]; this he determines in the Negative. For as the *pulchrum & honeſtum* depend entirely upon Opinion, *the hunting after them is not much better than a wild Gooſe-Chaſe that is but little to be depended upon* [z]. But the Diſappointment you will meet with in this Hunt, *is not the greateſt Fault he finds with it.* No doubt but the Hunt itſelf is miſchievous; any Enquiry into Virtue and Honeſty is of dreadful Conſequence. Upon what Scheme of Principles then is it that he has *always, without Heſitation, preferred the Road that leads to Virtue*?

It being the Intereſt then of the very worſt of them, more than any, to preach up Publick-ſpiritedneſs, that they might reap the Fruits of the Labour and Self-denial of others, and at the ſame Time indulge their own Appetites with leſs Diſturbance, they agreed with the reſt, to call every thing, which, without Regard to the Publick, Man ſhould commit to gratify any of his Appetites, VICE—— *and to give the Name of* VIRTUE *to every Performance, by which Man*, contrary to the Impulſe of Nature, *ſhould endeavour the Benefit of others, or the Conqueſt of his own Paſſions out of a rational Ambition of being good* [a]. What a Heap of abſurd Impiety is here! 'Tis not enough that the firſt Notions of Virtue were ſtarted to ſerve the ambitious Purpoſes of Politicians [b], but the *very worſt* of Men, the greateſt Raſcals of their kind, muſt join in carrying on the moral Cheat. *That Virtue and Vice were in their own Nature indifferent*, had been aſſerted before; he muſt improve upon this, and tell you, that Vice is preferable to Virtue, becauſe

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[y] P. 373. [z] P. 380. [a] P. 341 [b] P. 33.

Virtue

Virtue is contrary to the very *Impulſe of Nature*. After all this it is eaſy to underſtand his Sneer, that People act *contrary to this Impulſe of Nature, out of a rational Ambition of being good.* But to prevent all Poſſibility of Miſtake, he has explained himſelf at large in another Place. *Oh! the mighty Prize we have in View for all our Self-denial! Can any Man be ſo ſerious as to abſtain from Laughter, when he conſiders that for ſo much Deceit and Inſincerity practiſed upon our ſelves as well as others, we have no other Recompence than the vain Satisfaction of making our Species appear more exalted and remote from that of other Animals, than it really is; and we in our Conſciences know it to be* [c]? and yet he, good Man! is apt to *bow down to Virtue*, when he meets with *ſuch fair Inſtances of Self-denial* [d]. *All the Recompence a Man has of a virtuous Action, is the Pleaſure of doing it, which moſt People reckon but poor Pay* [e], and what is worſe, it ſeems, they are cheated even in that, and are paid in falſe Coin; for the Pleaſure they receive is the arranteſt Jeſt in Nature. And yet in all he has ſaid, he has *preferred the Road that leads to Virtue!*

To guard againſt any immoral Inferences that might be drawn from his Principles, as if he were an Encourager of Vice, he tells you, he *does not ſay that the particular Members of Society who are guilty of any Vices ſhould not be continually reproved, or not be puniſhed for them when they grow into Crimes* [f]. The Diſtinction between *Vices* and *Crimes* is ſomewhat new, and truly worthy ſuch *a Book of ſevere and exalted Morality*. The meaning is this; let Men be as vicious as they will, it

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[c] P. 153, 154. [d] P. 164. [e] P. 246.

[f] Pref. p. 9. *Of the ſame kind is that Expreſſion in* p. 255. *and repeated in his Defence*, p. 470. that Vice ought to be *diſcountenanced*, the Laws obeyed, and the Tranſgreſſors *puniſhed*.

is the Duty of the Magiſtrate only to *reprove* them (and why it ſhould be his Duty to do even that, is as hard to gueſs) but never to *puniſh* them till they commit ſome Crime againſt the State; for Vices are ſo far from being Crimes againſt the State, that they are *publick Benefits.*

But when he came to apply his Maxim to the Government and People of *England* [g], he thought perhaps it would be too ſhocking to go about proving to them, that *to be wicked* and *to be happy* meant the ſame thing, though this is certainly included in the other. He durſt not write diſtinct Eſſays to prove, *that the Acts of Murther, Adultery, Inceſt, Sodomy,* &c. were the Things human Happineſs conſiſted in: But he has endeavoured to ſhew, that the leſs enormous Vices of Pride [h], Luxury [i], Extravagance [k], Extortion [l], Pilfering, Robbing, Houſe-breaking [m], Lewdneſs [n], *&c.* are highly beneficial: That without the Vices of Man, no Society can become great or flouriſhing, nor continue ſo [o]! He thinks he has demonſtrated, that Evil, *moral* as well as *natural*, is the ſolid Baſis [p], *&c:* And to encourage the Practice of it, tells you, that *no Vice is ever able to ſhake the Conſtitution* [q]; nay that the very Reverſe is true; for *the Moment Evil ceaſes, the Society muſt be ſpoiled, if not totally diſſolved* [r].

But if the Reader ſhould not think theſe ſufficient Intimations of his meaning, he muſt have Recourſe to the *Fable* itſelf, where every Line will explain it. As this is only an Allegory in which he is more at Liberty, it is the likelieſt Place to find his real Opinions. Now the Hive, whoſe Happineſs he propoſes as a Pattern for the People of *England* to endeavour at, were

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[g] Pref. p. 4. [h] Remark M. [i] Remark L.
[k] Remark K. [l] Remark I. [m] P. 82. [n] P. 250.
[o] P. 255. [p] P. 427, 428. [q] P. 116. [r] P. 428.

ſo

ſo exceſſively wicked, that it was impoſſible to *repeat all their Frauds* [r], But in ſhort

——Every Part was full of Vice,
And the whole Maſs a Paradiſe [s].

The Author judged very right, when he thought it would be ſuſpected, that *the Remarks* were not writ for *the Fable*, but *the Fable to introduce the Remarks* [u], and to ſerve as a Key to them. Indeed the *Fable* itſelf is too wretched a Performance to deſerve a Commentary.

When moral Virtue has met with ſuch Uſage from him, it is no wonder Religion ſhould not fare better at his Hands. It is indeed a much leſs Crime, not only againſt his fellow Creatures, but the Divine Being itſelf, to burleſque or deny Revelation, than to root up and deſtroy the firſt Principles of Virtue and Goodneſs, to decry Morality as the Invention of the *worſt* of Men for the better *Indulgence* of their *Luſts* [w], as the *Offspring of Flattery begot upon Pride* [x], or in other Words the Offspring of Roguery begot upon Folly; or at beſt as an Engine of State to ſerve the Purpoſes of Ambition, and to make Slaves of Mankind [y]; to ſay there is no ſuch Thing in reality as any *pulchrum & honeſtum*, no real Worth and Excellency in Things, no Pre-eminence of one above another [z]; but that all depends upon the Mode

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[r] P. 8. [s] P. 9. [u] Pref. p. 8.

[w] P. 34.—The very worſt of them——that they might indulge their own Appetites with leſs Diſturbance—agreed, *&c.*

[x] P. 37. The moral Virtues are the political Offspring which Flattery begot upon Pride.

[y] P. 33. The firſt Rudiments of Morality—were chiefly contrived that the Ambitious might reap the more Benefit from, and govern vaſt Numbers with greater Eaſe and Security.

[z] The Foundation of Religion lies in that Difference between the Acts of Men, which diſtinguiſhes them into good, evil, indifferent. For if there is ſuch a Difference there muſt be Religion, *& contra. The Religion of Nature delineated*, p. 7. And *Tully* in the ſame manner makes it to be the only poſſible

Mode and Faſhion [a]. To point out the temporal Inconveniencies (which he knew to be the likelieſt Motives to perſuade) the Ruin, the Poverty, and all the miſchievous Conſequences, that, he ſays, muſt attend the general Practice of Virtue [b], to ridicule the only Rewards he thinks are due to it, to repreſent them as below the Notice or Purſuit of wiſe Men, and fit only for Madmen and Cullies [c]: I ſay, to do all this (which the Reader, by conſulting the Pages referred to, may ſee I have not endeavoured to exaggerate) muſt certainly have a greater Share of Guilt, than ridiculing or oppoſing particular Paſſages in Scripture, or even denying the Truth of Revelation itſelf. But he can do both theſe, and more than theſe.

We are told in *Geneſis*, that God ſaid to Man as ſoon as he was created, *Have* DOMINION *over the Fiſh of the Sea, and over the Fowl of the Air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the Earth* [d]. But this it ſeems is falſe: For *what Nature deſigns, ſhe executes.— If ſhe had intended that Man, as Man from a Superiority of Species, ſhould* LORD *it over all other Animals, the Tiger, nay the Whale and the Eagle, would have obeyed his Voice* [e]. How little Learning or Philoſophy demoliſhes the Bible! *Moſes*'s Account of the Creation can't be true; for you may whiſtle to Tigers, Whales, and Eagles as

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poſſible Foundation of Morality, *Non opinione ſed natura conſtitutum eſſe jus.* de Leg. l. 1. c. 10. For (as he ſays afterwards) *Si natura confirmatura jus non erit, virtutes omnes tollantur.——Etiam in Deos ceremoniæ, religioneſque tollantur.* c. 15.

[a] P. 373. *And again, after ſaying that* it is impoſſible to decide what in Point of Dreſs is handſomeſt, abſtract from the Mode in Being, whether Beards and Whiskers, or ſhaved Faces, narrow-brim'd Hats, or broad, great Buttons or little ones, *he ſays*, in p. 379. in Morals there is no greater Certainty.

[b] See the Fable itſelf, and p. 428 and p. 105. like Honeſty, a mean, ſtarving Virtue.

[c] P. 153. Oh! the mighty Prize we have in View for all our Self-denial.

[d] *Gen.* c. i. v. 28. [e] P. 195.

long as you pleaſe, and yet they will neither fight for you, carry Merchandize, nor go of your Errands.

Fortior eſt qui ſe quam qui fortiſſima vincit mœnia, is a Maxim that could not eſcape his Notice, when he was ridiculing the Motives to Virtue. It ſhews the Roguery of Politicians, and the great Folly of the People, *to make a continual War with themſelves* for the good of others, upon no other View, than the ſilly Pleaſure ariſing from *the Conqueſt of their own Paſſions* [e]. He ſeems to have had a double Pleaſure in this Ridicule. Beſides the common one of overturning a Maxim the old moral Philoſophers had given into, he had an Opportunity of burleſquing *Solomon* for the ſame Obſervation [f].

He will poſſibly ſay in his Defence, that he had not this Text of Scripture in view. Be it ſo; the Reader will, doubtleſs, make all ſuch Allowances for him, where he has an Opportunity of ſhewing his Candour with Safety to common Senſe. But at the ſame Time he will expect, I am afraid, that the Author ſhould juſtify his Innocence, by retracting all thoſe Opinions that he finds ſo contradicted in Scripture. But alas! this would be to deſtroy that Work that is to laſt for ever. It makes a good Flouriſh at the end of a Book to promiſe to *recant, to beg Pardon of the offended Publick, to burn his Book* openly, *if in the whole of it there is to be found the leaſt Tittle of Blaſphemy or Prophaneneſs, or any Thing tending to Immorality, or the Corruption of Manners* [g]. But to comply with this Promiſe is extremely difficult. Such a *Conqueſt* over his Vanity (conſidering the Mightineſs of the Adverſary he has to encounter) might indeed be equal to that of *taking a City*.

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[e] P. 31.

[f] Prov. xvi. 32. *He that is ſlow to Anger, is better than the Mighty; and he that ruleth his Spirit, than he that taketh a City.*

[g] P. 476, 477.

After

After he has ſaid, that *in Morals there is no greater Certainty*, than there is in determining which is the handſomeſt Faſhion, to wear Beards, or no Beards, narrow brim'd Hats, or broad ones, great Buttons, or ſmall [h]; he proceeds to tell you it is pretty much the ſame as to Religion. *Which is the beſt Religion? is a Queſtion that has cauſed more Miſchief than all other Queſtions together. Ask it at* Peking, *at* Conſtantinople, *and at* Rome, *and you'll receive three diſtinct Anſwers extremely different from one another, yet all of them equally poſitive and peremptory* [i]. So it ſeems the Pagan, the Mahometan, and the Chriſtian Religion are alike true or falſe, and depend only upon the Faſhion of the Place, or the Bigottry of their ſeveral Profeſſors. And it is in this Senſe he intends it then, that *the Worſhip of the Goddeſs* Diana *is* OUT OF FASHION at preſent [k]. If the Reader ſhould think there is ſtill room left for his being *a very good Proteſtant*, ſince he has only condemned Paganiſm, Mahometiſm, and Popery, what Pity it is he ſhould have added, that it is the ſame as to *the ſeveral Sects of Chriſtians*, who, if you enquire, *which is the true Church of Chriſt? will all of them tell you it is their's, and to convince you, go together by the Ears* [l]! Then follow the Words, in which he ſays, all ſuch Enquiries are *not much better than a wild Gooſe Chace*, &c.

After all it muſt be allowed him, we have many good Proteſtants among us, who are not of *any* Sect of Chriſtianity whatever; who are very ſucceſsful in pleading their Merit on the one Account, after they have lain aſide all Pretences to the other. This may ſeem ſtrange to an ignorant Reader; but the Times, we live in, afford much Matter of Wonder and Amazement.

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[h] P. 376, 377. [i] P. 379. [k] 342. [l] P. 380.

He ſays by Way of Apology for his Book, that *he ſpeaks neither of Jews nor Chriſtians, but Man ignorant of the true Deity* [l]. He muſt mean by this, that he knows his Opinions are not true, if the Jewiſh, the Chriſtian Religion, or the Being of a God itſelf be true; for elſe his Apology is impertinent. What Ruins is this Work of *exalted Morality built upon*? But it is a Misfortune ſeveral of his Apologies lye under; that beſides their being aukward and unnatural, they expoſe the Guilt of his Opinions in a more glaring manner.

He expects, he ſays, *a full-mouthed Cry* againſt him; *what! has God never puniſhed and deſtroyed great Nations for their Sins*? *Yes* (ſays the Author) *but not without Means, by infatuating their Governors, and ſuffering them to depart from either all or ſome of theſe general Maxims I have mentioned* [m]. The chief *general Maxim* is, *Private Vices Publick Benefits.* This is what he propoſes to Magiſtrates to direct them in the Government of a Society [n]. So that whenever God puniſhes a Nation for their Sins, it is by infatuating their Governors, and ſuffering them to depart from this Rule. God's Method to curſe a People for their *Vices* is to make them *virtuous*, which of all others he thinks muſt be the greateſt Curſe, becauſe it makes them *poor.* Is it the want of Religion here, or of common Senſe, that the Reader wonders at moſt? If he means only his particular Maxims relating to Trade, *&c.* the Sum of his Divinity is this; whenever a People make themſelves *Rogues*, the only means God has to puniſh them by, is to make them *Fools.*

That there is no ſuch Thing as Virtue or Vice, but as Men were pleaſed arbitrarily to fix thoſe Names upon particular Actions, as it ſerved their Ambition or

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[l] Introduction, *and* p. 35. [m] P. 116, 117. [n] P. 469.

Roguery [o],

Roguery [o], is what he was to prove in the *philoſophical* Part of his Treatiſe. The Truth of this he will ſhew in a particular Inſtance. *There is no Merit in ſaving an innocent Babe ready to drop into the Fire: The Action is neither good nor bad* [p]. On the other Hand we find, that to be *kind to one another*, *tender hearted* [q], *being pitiful, and having Compaſſion one of another* [r], are the Precepts of the *New Teſtament*; and that *He* does but *deceive* himſelf in his Pretences to Religion, who, when he *ſeeth his Brother have need, ſhutteth up his Bowels of Compaſſion from him* [s]. *That to love thy Neighbour as thy ſelf* [t] is the principal Duty of ſocial Life. And our Saviour from the Inſtance of the good *Samaritan* tells us, that this Compaſſion to our Brother, this Love to our Neighbour, is to be underſtood of all Mankind. That it is not confined to Relations, or Friends, Countries, or Opinions, but extends itſelf to all Men in Diſtreſs, or that need our Aſſiſtance. *A certain Man went down from* Jeruſalem *to* Jericho, *and fell among Thieves, which ſtripped him of his Rayment, and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead.* It ſeems ſeveral People paſs'd by without being at all affected with ſo melancholy an Object. At laſt a good-natured *Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was, and when he ſaw him, he had Compaſſion on him*, &c. Our Saviour could not be unacquainted with the Motives to this charitable Action; he muſt know that all the Workings of Nature, and a fellow-feeling with this poor Wretch in his Diſtreſs, muſt needs give the good *Samaritan* ſome Pain, and that that Pain might have ſome Share in his generous Behaviour: And yet our Saviour does not ſcruple to determine this Action to be a *good* one, and therefore

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[o] P. 33, 34. [p] P. 42. [q] Epheſ. iv. 32. [r] 1 Pet. iii. 8.
[s] 1 Joh. iii. 17. [t] Luke x. 27.

propoſes it to the Lawyer as a Pattern for him to imitate; *go and do thou likewiſe* [t].

By the Way, the Reader will obſerve, that what the Author ſays to explain away the Goodneſs of ſuch Actions, makes againſt what he is endeavouring to prove. His Buſineſs is to make human Nature appear as vile as poſſible; and therefore in this Inſtance he would tell you, that *the Action is neither good nor bad*; *and what Benefit ſoever the* poor Wretch *received*, the Samaritan *only obliged* himſelf; *for to have* let him lain there, *and not ſtrove to* relieve him, *would have cauſed a Pain, which Self-Preſervation compelled* him *to prevent* [u]. (He means *Self-Love*, or a Care to avoid the Uneaſineſs ariſing from a fellow-feeling with others in their Diſtreſs, implanted in our Nature.) But certainly it ſhews the Excellency, not the Imperfection of our Make, that we are naturally formed with Inclinations beneficial to others, which the utmoſt Lengths in Wickedneſs can never quite efface or deſtroy [w]: According to that of *Juvenal*, *molliſſima corda humano generi dare ſe natura fatetur, quæ Lacrymas dedit. Hæc noſtri pars optima ſenſus.* And again, *Naturæ imperio gemimus, cum—— terra clauditur infans* [x].

By repreſenting Compaſſion as prevailing in the worſt as well as the beſt of Men, the Author would fain infer, that the Principle itſelf is a Weakneſs and Blemiſh in our Nature. But ſurely this dealer in Paradox would not gravely impoſe it upon the World, that *Highwaymen*, *Houſe-breakers*, and *Murderers*, are as compaſſionate as the reſt of Mankind. One would think they muſt have ſtifled in a good Meaſure their natural Pity

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[t] Luk. x. 37.

[u] P. 43.

[w] P. 289. *He is ſpeaking of a Sow's devouring a Child.* An Highwayman, an Houſe-breaker, or a Murderer could feel Anxieties on ſuch an Occaſion.

[x] Sat. 15. v. 131, *&c.*

and

and Tenderneſs, before they could well enter upon ſuch bloody Employments. Compaſſion is another Word for Humanity, and accordingly the good *Chremes* thought it a ſufficient Reaſon for interpoſing his Advice, and endeavouring to remove the Miſery he ſaw his Neighbour daily bring upon himſelf, to ſay *Homo ſum: Humani nihil a me alienum puto* [y]. *Juvenal* has copied the ſame Sentiment from him: and as he makes a fellow-feeling with others in their Misfortunes, one great Characteriſtick to diſtinguiſh Mankind from the Brute Creation; ſo he tells you the beſt and moſt virtuous among *them* have the greateſt Share of it [z]. But ſurely there does not want ſuch Authorities to prove Humanity to be a Virtue.

The Caſe in ſhort is this. There is as little compleat Wickedneſs in the World, as there is Perfection in Goodneſs. The worſt of Men have ſome good Qualities, which let the reſt of their Lives be what they will, will now and then break out and appear in their Actions. Now theſe good Qualities are not the leſs good Qualities in themſelves, or the leſs to be called *Virtues*, becauſe a Man, otherwiſe bad, poſſeſſes them. For inſtance, Piety to Parents is not the leſs a Virtue, becauſe it may chance that a Highwayman has relieved his Parents in Diſtreſs; nor (to put it yet ſtronger) would be the leſs a Virtue in itſelf, though it ſhould chance that a Man robb'd for this very Purpoſe. For if all his other Qualities were anſwerable to this Regard to his Parents, he would not have robb'd, but have acted in all Things like a good Man. And thoſe good Qualities he does poſſeſs, don't change their Nature, becauſe they are accompanied with others unlike themſelves:

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[y] Ter. Heaut. Act. I. S. 1.

[z] Sat. 15. v. 140. *Quis enim bonus——nulla aliena ſibi credat mala? Separat hoc nos a grege mutorum.*

much

much leſs do the ſame Qualities ceaſe to be good in *another* Man, becauſe in *this* Man they are joined to Qualities that are bad.

We find in Scripture, that God has promiſed (who is *faithful*, and will perform it) that he will not ſuffer them who depend upon him to be tempted beyond their Strength, but will, in caſe of Temptation and Perſecution, give them ſuch extraordinary Aſſiſtance, as to enable them to bear it [a]. And this is no more than what we are aſſured of from the whole Tenor of the New Teſtament. We are likewiſe commanded to offer up our Prayers and Supplications continually to this Purpoſe. Now it would be highly irrational to ſuppoſe, that God Almighty ſhould command us to implore his Aſſiſtance, when we are perſecuted for his Name's Sake, if he were reſolved (notwithſtanding our Compliance with his Commands) to leave us to depend conſtantly upon our natural Strength, and in no Inſtance to afford us any other Aſſiſtance than what he vouchſafes to the greateſt Profligate, to the Wretch who ſuffers for his open Defiance of *his* Power and Being. Again, we are aſſured how bleſſed they are, who are thus perſecuted for Righteouſneſs Sake [b]; we are told what infinite Bliſs is prepared in Heaven to reward ſuch Conſtancy; that it ought to be Matter of exceeding Joy to us, to have an Opportunity put into our Hands of making ourſelves thus acceptable to God [c]. And accordingly we read of ſeveral in *Scripture* who had ſuffered for their Faith; as we know there were many thouſands after thoſe Books were writ, who defied the cruel Inventions of Tyrants and Executioners, and died with all the Joy, Alacrity, and Perſeverance their Maſter had required of them. But this *infallible Touchſtone*,

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[a] 1 Cor. x. 13. [b] Matt. v. 10. [c] Ver. 12. *and* Jam. i. 2.

to

to diſtinguiſh the real from the counterfeited, that *ſhews many Actions to be faulty that are palmed upon the World for good ones* [d], can give a much better Account what this wonderful Conſtancy was owing to. He *cannot but admire at the Simplicity of ſome good Men, who when they hear of the Joy and Alacrity with which holy Men in Perſecution have ſuffered for their Faith, imagine that ſuch Conſtancy muſt exceed all human Force, unleſs it was ſupported by ſome miraculous Aſſiſtance from Heaven* [e]. What was it then that ſupported them? Arrant *Pride and firm Conſtitution* [f]. What Reaſon has he for this impious Charge? Why, *there have been Men, who only aſſiſted with Pride and Conſtitution to maintain the worſt of Cauſes, have undergone Death and Torments with as much Chearfulneſs as the beſt of Men, animated with Piety and Devotion, ever did for the true Religion* [g]. If theſe Expreſſions did not border quite ſo near upon Blaſphemy, the Reader could not find in his Heart to be angry with ſuch a Reaſoner. He can't but admire at the Simplicity of thoſe, who think holy Men in their Martyrdom were aſſiſted from Heaven: For (ſays he) ſince the worſt of Men, aſſiſted *only* with Pride and Conſtitution, have ſuffered as chearfully as the beſt of Men, animated (*not* with Pride or Conſtitution) but with Piety and Devotion; therefore it was Pride and Conſtitution that aſſiſted them both, and carried them to that *Pitch of Self-denial* [h]. Or has he a Mind to come off, by owning at once, that by *Piety and Devotion* he means *Pride and Conſtitution*? But even this would not quite ſerve the Purpoſe. For then it will be, that Pride and Conſtitution will do as much as Pride and Conſtitution. In ſhort, the meaning is this, that Pride and Conſtitution have gone as far in ſupporting ſome Men in the worſt of

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[d] P. 467. [e] P. 237. [f] Ibid. [g] Ibid. [h] Ibid.

Cauſes

Cauſes (that of Atheiſm) as in animating others in *what the World calls* a better Cauſe, that of the *Chriſtian Religion*. So horrid a meaning, the charitable Reader will give him leave to diſavow, when he ſhews any other conſiſtent Senſe in the whole Paragraph.

To prove this laſt *Aſſertion*, he *could produce many Inſtances; but one or two will be ſufficient*. Sufficient, indeed, they will be found to ſhew his own Malice and Ignorance. *Vanini*, *Jordanus Bruno*, *and one Mahomet Effendi*, ſuffered Death in the Cauſe of *Atheiſm* [1]. And theſe three, with our Author to lead them on, ſhall rout the whole Army of Martyrs and Confeſſors, with all the Saints, Evangeliſts, aud Apoſtles at the Head of them. His Suggeſtion may go even beyond Apoſtles, for ought he has ſaid to reſtrain it. But it is too ſhocking to follow him.

If by way of Excuſe he ſhould ſay, he confines his Obſervation to the three Inſtances mentioned, and others who have *really* ſuffered in the worſt of Cauſes; this would directly contradict what he ſet out with. For ſurely he does not think, that theſe GOOD *Men*, whoſe *Simplicity he admires at*, mean *Vanini*, *Jordanus Bruno*, &c. when they ſpeak of the *holy Men who have ſuffered for the Faith*. If ſo, indeed their Simplicity might well be admired at. No, they were the primitive Martyrs, the firſt Publiſhers of the Goſpel, who were not *ſupported by any miraculous Aſſiſtance from Heaven*, but by their own *Pride and firm Conſtitutions*.

If his Bigottry to Irreligion did not blind him, it would have been eaſy for him to account (in ſome Meaſure) for this Patience and Conſtancy of Martyrs in their ſuffering for the Faith, even by common and natural Means, without ſuppoſing much *Firmneſs of Con-*

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[1] See the *Index* for *Vanini*.

ſtitution

ſtitution, or one Jot of *Pride* to ſupport them. We find from every Day's Experience, that even the moſt imprudent and thoughtleſs Part of Mankind, are content now and then to poſtpone a preſent Pleaſure to ſomewhat in Reverſion; and even ſometimes to undergo a little preſent Uneaſineſs and Pain, to obtain a very great Advantage afterwards. What Fatigue won't ſome Men ſubmit to, to promote their Fortune, and what Pains won't they contentedly undergo, to recover and eſtabliſh their Health? In ſhort, Wiſdom itſelf is thought to conſiſt in having a View to ſuch *future* Advantages. Now he may depend upon it, there are Men in the World who really think that this Eternity of Bliſs is a greater Reward for the Pains undergone in Perſecution, than the greateſt temporal Advantage is for the Trouble Men take in the Purſuit of it; who do ſincerely *reckon, that the Sufferings of this preſent Time, are not worthy to be compared with the Glory which ſhall be revealed in us* [k]. And with all ſuch it is a Point of Wiſdom and common Prudence to prefer their Intereſt in this future Glory, to their preſent Conveniency and Eaſe.

It is not even neceſſary in the preſent Suppoſition, that their Hopes ſhould be well-grounded [l]. If they are *ſincere* in their Belief, it is enough to ſatisfy us, that Pride could have no Share in their Conduct. And that they are ſincere in it, I can prove from the Authority of one, that he ought to be aſhamed of falling foul on ſo often as he does. This Writer will aſſure him, that

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[k] Rom. viii. 18.

[l] *The Author ſeems all along to take it for granted, that there is no future State of Rewards and Puniſhments at all:* For he ſays, ALL the Recompence a Man has of a virtuous Action, is the Pleaſure of doing it, which moſt People reckon but poor Pay, p. 246.

those who chearfully undergo Persecution for their Faith, ought not to be suspected of Insincerity[m].

Some of his Readers perhaps will think (for he dare not own it himself) that this *Belief* I talk of, is that very *Enthusiasm* he means, that *some Men of firm Constitutions may work themselves up to, by no other Help than the Violence of their Passions* [n]. But vast Multitudes of those Martyrs had themselves a Christian Education, and therefore their earliest Prejudices favoured this Opinion. And surely there does not need any very *strong Constitution*, nor *Violence of Passions*, much less any *Pride*, to persuade People that they ought not to renounce the Belief they have been bred up in, which their riper Years and Reflection have confirmed in them, to worship Idols, or offer Sacrifice to Devils: or that if they did do so, such shameful Prevarication would be displeasing to that God they had been taught to worship, and probably draw down his Vengeance upon their Heads. I say, this may in some measure be accounted for from such common innocent Errors, as that there is a God, that he ought to be worship'd, that he *will not give* his *Glory to another*, nor sit tamely unconcerned to see his Commands disobeyed, and his Power defied; as likewise that he is a just and a good God; that *he is a Rewarder of them that diligently seek him*, that suffer for his Sake, and act in Conformity to his Pleasure. But this Writer of ours is such a Bigot in Infidelity, that he is not content to deny Religion without decrying it; to affirm that those who suffer in its Cause, are not assisted by any extraordinary Grace from Heaven, without resolving their Conduct into a Composition of monstrous Vice and Folly.

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[m] *Free Thoughts on Religion, &c.* by *B. M.* p. 6 *and* 7.
[n] P. 237.

I don'

I don't ſay, that a Senſe of Religion would always have been ſufficient of itſelf to ſupport Men in ſuch fiery Trials. As it would be abſurd to deny its Efficacy upon great Numbers of Men in their Sufferings, ſo it will require a very ſtrong Faith to believe, that ſo many thouſands of all Ages, Conditions, and of different Sexes, ſhould all be affected with this lively Senſe of Duty, ſhould ſmile in the midſt of the utmoſt Tortures the cruel Ingenuity of their Enemies could contrive for them; that this ſhould be the Caſe of Chriſtians in every Place, where this Perſecution raged; that there ſhould be no Inſtances of Men for a vaſt Tract of Years, who compounded for their Safety at the Price of their Truth and Sincerity: It would be abſurd, I ſay, to believe all this, without ſuppoſing ſome extraordinary Aſſiſtance from Heaven, to ſupport People under theſe ſevere Trials. All this however may, for ought I know, be believed by ſome among us. For it has been very truly obſerved, that the Creed of a modern Infidel is larger, and has more Articles in it, than that of the moſt bigotted Sectary upon Earth.

I can't help enlarging upon this Article, in order to give the Reader a more particular View of thoſe Heroes of Impiety, thoſe Martyrs for Atheiſm, that our Author has fetched out of his learned Store, which he aſſures us would have ſupplied him with many more Inſtances [o].

Vanini, he ſays, *might have been pardoned the Moment before the Execution, if he would have retracted his Doctrine; but rather than recant, he choſe to be burnt to Aſhes. As he went to the Stake, he was ſo far from ſhewing any Concern, that he held his Hand out to a Phyſician whom he happened to know, deſiring him*

[o] P. 238. To prove this Aſſertion, I could produce many Inſtances.

to

to judge of the Calmneſs of his Mind by the Regularity of his Pulſe, and from thence taking an Opportunity of making an impious Compariſon, uttered a Sentence too execrable to be mentioned [p]. I think I may venture to ſay, that in all the Facts and particular Circumſtances here mentioned, there is not one Word of Truth, unleſs it be in the ſilly Compariſon *Vanini* made before his Execution. Let the Reader himſelf judge upon the Evidence.

An Account of his Behaviour during his Impriſonment, Trial, and before his Execution, is preſerved to us by Preſident *Grammond*, in his Hiſtory of *France* [q], A Writer of great Credit and Learning [r], who was himſelf preſent at every Part of it [s]. In the firſt Place, it is ſo far from being true, that *he choſe to be burnt rather than retract his Doctrine*, that he would very gladly have made any Recantations to have procured his Pardon. Upon his Trial he ſaid, That every Thing about him was an Evidence of the Being of a God; and taking up a Straw from the Ground, he reaſoned from it much beyond himſelf (for he was a Fellow of but very ordinary Genius) of the Neceſſity there was of believing a God, and of the Abſurdity of an infinite Succeſſion of Cauſes. Nay more, he was extremely orthodox in his Faith: for when his Judges firſt asked him what he thought of the Deity, he anſwered, *coli ſibi in Trinitate unum qualem adorat Eccleſia Catholica.* As to the Calmneſs of his Deportment during his Suffering we are told, *Erat illi in extremis aſpectus ferox & horridus, inquieta mens, anxium quodcunque loqueba-*

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[p] P. 238.

[q] *Barth. Grammondi Hiſtoriarum Galliæ.* L. 3. p. 208.

[r] *Viro cum gravi tum docto.* Biſhop *Parker's* Diſputations, &c. p. 83.

[s] *Vidi ego in cuſtodia, vidi in patibulo, vidtram ante quam ſubiret Vincula,* &c. Gram.

tur.

tur. And again, *Hic Lucilii Vanini finis, cui quanta conſtantia fuerit, probat belluinus in morte clamor. Vidi ego in cuſtodia, vidi in patibulo, videram ante quam ſubiret vincula: Flagitioſus in libertate, & voluptatum ſectator avidus, in carcere Catholicus, in extremis omni Philoſophiæ præſidio deſtitutus, amens moritur.* And yet our Author, as if he himſelf had been *the Phyſician who felt the Regularity of his Pulſe* [t], aſſures you, that the Calmneſs, Stedfaſtneſs and Courage of the Primitive Martyrs were equall'd, if not outdone, in the Sufferings of this poor Wretch.

As to the laſt Circumſtance of *his making an impious Compariſon*, and uttering *a Sentence* too execrable to be mentioned, I ſhall venture to mention it without any Fear of ſhocking the Reader, after having prepared him for hearing *execrable Sentences* by tranſcribing ſo much already from *the Fable of the Bees.* It ſeems this poor Madman [u] (and there can't be a greater Proof of it than this Circumſtance) with all that Horror in his Countenance, had yet the Vanity to ſay, he ſhould die without any Dread or Concern. Thinking it to no Purpoſe to deny his Opinions any longer [w], ſince his Death was inevitable, *Monachi ſolatium aſpernatus, objectam crucem averſatur, Chriſtoque illudit in hæc verba; illi in extremis imbellis ſudor, ego imperterritus morior.* It is not my Deſign to extenuate the Guilt of ſuch a ſenſeleſs Piece of Profaneneſs. But it is far from being a Proof of his Atheiſm; and perhaps the Reader will think there are worſe Expreſſions in the *Fable of the Bees*, as there are many much worſe in the Writings of *Vanini.* The one ſays, the Agony of Chriſt was owing to the Fear and Terror he was under

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[t] P. 238.

[u] *Amens moritur.* Gram.

[w] *In carcere Sacramentis frequenter utebatur, diſſimulans aſtute conſcientiam. Ubi videt ereptam ſpem vitæ, larvam exuit, qualiſque vixerat moritur.* Gram.

on account of his approaching Death; the other labours to prove, that the Conſtancy which *all* Martyrs, *without Exception*, have ſhewed in their Sufferings for Religion, has proceeded from *Pride* and *firm Conſtitutions*, that is to ſay, Pride ſupported by firm Conſtitutions. And after all it will remain ſomewhat doubtful, whether his calling *Vanini infamous*, the Compariſon *impious*, and ſaying the Sentence is *too execrable to be mentioned*, has not more of the Sneer in it, than any ſerious Diſlike.

The Reader from hence may reaſonably wonder, why the Author ſhould endeavour to exaggerate the Impiety of one, who in many of his Opinions he will be thought to agree with. Why, it is for that Reaſon, and in purſuit of the ſame End, *Vanini* had in uttering that *execrable* Sentence. For if he can once poſſeſs the Reader with an Opinion that *Vanini* died a Martyr for Atheiſm, that he held *infamous* Opinions, that at going out of the World he made an *impious* Compariſon, and uttered a Sentence *too execrable to be mentioned*; if in ſhort he be ſuch a one *in the common Language of the World*, he thought it would ſerve his Purpoſe very well, if he deſcribed him as ſuffering for the Cauſe in this compoſed, ſtedfaſt, heroical manner; if he deſcribed him as bravely rejecting Life, when it was offered to him at the Price of his Truth and Sincerity.

But as bad a Purpoſe as the Author muſt be thought to aim at in this Account of his atheiſtical Martyrs, and his Compariſon of them with *the beſt of Men* (that *animated with Piety and Devotion)* ever ſuffered *for the true Religion* [x], it would not be fair to conceal any Thing from the Reader, which it is even *poſſible* ſhould make for his Juſtification. We have heard from an unexcep-

[x] P. 237.

tionable

tionable Authority, who was himſelf an Eye Witneſs of the Tranſaction he relates, with what ſort of Temper this Champion ſuffered. And I have never yet met with any other Writer that pretends to ſay he died in the manner repreſented in the Fable: Though if there were any ſuch, ſurely it muſt meet with very little Credit in Oppoſition to the other. What ſhall we ſay then? or from whence had he this Account? *To forge* in the Cauſe of Infidelity is a monſtrous Sort of Enthuſiaſm!

Indeed Mr. *Bayle* [y], from whom he has borrowed a Part of this Paragraph, asks why *Vanini* did not recant and deceive his Judges? and calls him Fool for not doing ſo. The Anſwer to which is very plain, and moſt certainly true, that he *did* recant, aud that to no Purpoſe. Mr. *Bayle* is here endeavouring to prove, that Men don't act according to their Belief or Principles [z]: and if he could but perſuade the Reader that *Vanini* might have ſcaped by Recanting, and that he was really an Atheiſt, it would have been an Inſtance exactly for his Purpoſe [a]. But as Mr. *Bayle* ſays nothing (at leaſt that I have met with) of his Calmneſs, and Compoſure in his Sufferings, nor of that Circumſtance of the

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y Penſées diverſes, a l'occaſion de la Comete, *&c. Sect.* 182.

z *Ibid.* L'Exemple de Vanini eſt une preuve inconteſtable de ce que J'ai dit tant de fois, ſavoir, que les hommes n'agiſſent pas conformement a leur creance.

a For to act conformably to a Belief that there is nothing after this Life, is to act not only inſincerely, but as much like a thorough Villain as you find it for your Intereſt. A Concluſion he is very right in, and to ſet aſide which, Lord *Shaftsbury* has ſaid a great many pretty Things to no Purpoſe. Each of the two Writers have the ſame View, though their Ways of bringing it about are quite oppoſite. The one ſays Men may be virtuous from no other Principle than the Pleaſure of contemplating on the natural Charms of Virtue, and upon that Foot only can be truly virtuous. The other ſays that Men may be virtuous without any Principles at all, nay, that they are commonly moſt virtuous, where their Principles are moſt vicious, becauſe Mankind commonly act againſt their Principle.

Phyſician and his Pulſe, I preſume, this could not be his Authority [b].

There is yet room for the candid Reader to think, the Author may poſſibly have met with ſuch an Account of *Vanini*'s Behaviour. It ſeems this *infamous Vanini*, who died with a Sentence in his Mouth *too execrable to be mentioned*, has had however an Apology writ for him a few Years ago. The Name of the Author, and Place where it was printed, are both concealed; and I believe the Book itſelf is not to be met with in *England*, but in the Studies of thoſe who ſet a Value upon that *ſilly Piece of Blaſphemy called* [c], *Spaccio della Beſtia triumfante* [d]. It was probably writ by ſome Jeſuit, of whoſe Society he had always ſhewn himſelf a moſt egregious Flatterer. Mr. *Phillips* in his *Philoſophical Hiſtory of Atheiſm* has given us ſome Paſſages out of this Book, which he met with Abroad. Mr. *Phillips*'s Treatiſe was printed in 1716, who ſays the Book was lately printed [e]. Now the firſt Edition *of the Fable* was printed 1714; ſo that we muſt ſuppoſe this *Apology* to be writ before *the Fable of the Bees*, and that the Author has read it; beſides which it muſt be taken for granted, that it gives the ſame unfaithful Account of *Vanini*'s Behaviour that we ſee in the *Fable*.

With the Suppoſition then of all theſe doubtful Facts in his Favour, let us ſee what Uſe the Author has

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[b] *I wiſh after all the Author did not meet with this Deſcription in* Beaumont *and* Fletcher, *and taking a Fancy to it, beſtow it upon his Hero* Vanini. PHILASTER *ſays*, Not the calm Sea, when Æolus locks up his windy Brood, is leſs diſturbed than I——Sirs, feel my Pulſe: Whether have you known a Man in a more equal Tune to die? *If this be the Caſe, he ought to have given us what was ſaid t'other Side.* BELLARIO *anſwers*, Alas! my Lord, your Pulſe keeps Madman's Time, ſo does your Tongue.

[c] Fable of the Bees, *p.* 238.

[d] Writ by *Jordanus Bruno*.

[e] P. 109. Coſmopoli *nuper impreſſa*.

made

made of this *Apology*. Thoſe who think him *infamous*, who ſay that he made any *impious* Compariſon, that he uttered any Sentence *too execrable to be mentioned*, in ſhort, thoſe who ſay he was *an Atheiſt*, not only abſolutely deny that his Behaviour was calm and compoſed, but affirm upon the Teſtimony of their own Senſes, that his Carriage was as mean, and ſhewed as much Terror and Diſtraction, as we ſee in a common Malefactor, who is hanged for ſtealing a Silver Spoon. Now, let us ſuppoſe his Apologiſt has ſet his dying Behaviour in that amiable Light, and mentioned that particular Circumſtance of the Phyſician and his Pulſe; did the ſame Writer call him *infamous*? Did he ſay that he made an *impious* Compariſon, and died uttering a Sentence *too execrable to be mentioned*? No, the very Reverſe of it; it was writ to ſhew the Innocency of his Opinions, and the Injuſtice of his Condemnation: That he was ſo far from being an Atheiſt, that *he had never* as much as *denied the Immortality of the Soul*[f]. The one ſays that *Vanini* an Atheiſt, a ſcandalous, debauched, prevaricating Fellow, from the Terror of his approaching Death behaved like a Madman[g]: The other, that *Vanini*, a worthy, learned, virtuous, good Catholick, who was cruelly condemned for holding Opinions he was an utter Stranger to, died with exemplary Compoſure and Stedfaſtneſs. But neither of theſe entire Accounts would ſerve our Author's Purpoſe. No, he tells you the *infamous Vanini*, who made that *impious* Compariſon, and uttered a Sentence *too execrable to be mentioned*, *underwent Death and Tor-*

[f] *Audet affirmare, Vaninum immortalitatem animæ negaſſe nullo in Loco.* Hiſt. Phil. Ath. p. 112.

[g] *Flagitioſus in Libertate, & voluptatum Sectator avidus, in Carcere Catholicus, in extremis omni Philoſophiæ præſidio deſtitutus, amens moritur.* Gram.

ments with as much Chearfulneſs, as the beſt of Men, animated with Piety and Devotion, ever did for the true Religion [h]; with as much *Joy and Alacrity*, as any of you *good Men* (whoſe *Simplicity I can't but admire at*) can pretend to ſay any of your boaſted *holy Men in Perſecutions have* ever ſhewn when they *ſuffered for their Faith* [i]. I leave this whole Paſſage and its Author to the Reader's own Reflections.

I ſhall add a Word or two more to ſhew what kind of Man this *Vanini* really was. Firſt then, his Head was ſo turned with Vanity, that he makes a Diſciple of his in one of his Dialogues beſtow ſuch a Piece of blaſphemous Flattery upon him, as will ſerve for a better Proof of the Wickedneſs of his Opinions, than any Thing our Author has mentioned [k].

It is reported that he writ to Pope *Paul* V. to tell him, among a great deal of other Impertinence, *that if he did not give him a good Benefice, in three Months Time he would overturn the whole Chriſtian Religion* [l].

His Book *de admirandis Naturæ arcanis*, he dedicates to the Mareſchal *de Baſſompierre*. He begins in vaſt Admiration of himſelf [l] inſtead of his Patron. But he makes ample Amends for it afterwards. It ſeems his Patron was very handſome, and accordingly very ſucceſsful with Women: upon which Occaſion the Dedicator offers up his Devotions to him in the following manner. *Tam elegantem formoſi corporis ſpeciem* (ſays he) *quid memorem? quando non modo mille Helenis venuſtiores Heroinas ad ſui amorem pertrahit, ſed Atheorum contumaciam perſtringit, petulantiam comprimit,*

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[h] P. 237.

[i] Ibid.

[k] *Non ego Thomæ Mori exemplum imitabor, qui cum Eraſmum ignoto habitu acutiſſime diſſerentem excepiſſet, ita dixit,* vel Dæmon es, vel Eraſmus, *ſed ita de tua ſapientia eloquar,* VEL DEUS ES VEL VANINUS: To which the poor Wretch gravely anſwers, *Hic ſum.*

[l] Monſieur *Patin* ſays, *he knew a Perſon of Honour who had ſeen this Letter.* Je connois un homme d'honneur quia a vû cette Lettre, dans laquelle il y avoit pluſieurs autres ſottiſes, & meme des choſes horribles. *Patiniana*, p. 52.

nefari-

nefarioſque conatus reprimit: Nam ſpeciociſſimæ faciei tuæ ſplendorem majeſtatemque intuentes, Divinitatis veſtigium homini ineſſe fateri non inhorreſcunt. Then his Devotion grows warmer: *ſi Platonis eſſem alumnus, tanquam mundi animam te colerem atque deoſcularer. Compliments*, ſays a *French* Writer [l], *that from one of* Vanini's *Country* [m], *his Way of Life and Religion, look very raſcally and ſuſpicious.* It ſeems his Patron was remarkably generous too, and accordingly he ends his ſeraphick Dedication, with humbly begging his Honour's Charity [n].

As to the Inſtance of *Jordanus Bruno*, it will be a very difficult Matter for him to prove he died a Martyr for Atheiſm. There is a particular Account of his Death in a Letter of *Gaſpar Scioppius* [o]. The Deſign of this Letter was to juſtify the Proceedings of the Inquiſition in condemning him, and to aſſure his Friend that he did not die for *Lutheraniſm*, as it was generally reported even at *Rome* itſelf. It was his Buſineſs then to ſet his Opinions in their worſt Light; and ſuch a Bigot as *Scioppius* was, can never be thought to repreſent them too favourably. Some of theſe Opinions were doubtleſs very bad, others very weak and enthuſiaſtical, and others for which he was condemned, appear to be very innocent. But amongſt all of them *Scioppius* does not attempt to ſhew that he denied the Being of a God. He ſays of him indeed, *Horrenda prorſus abſurdiſſima docet, v. g. Mundos eſſe innumerabiles, animam de corpore in corpus, imo & alium in mundum migrare; unam animam bina corpora informare*

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[l] Entretiens ſur divers ſujets d'Hiſtoire, *p.* 342.

[m] *Vanini* was born at *Naples*.

[n] *Il finit ſottement ſon Epitre dedicatoire, par demander L'Aumone a ſon Heros.* Ibid.

[o] It is publiſhed in the *Entretiens ſur divers ſujets d'Hiſtoire*, vid. p. 287.

poſſe

posse, magiam esse rem bonam & licitam, Spiritum sanctum esse nihil aliud nisi animam mundi, Christum non esse Deum, sed fuisse Magum insignem, Diabolum salvatum iri; with many others that plainly enough shew he was no Christian, but not one that intimates his Disbelief of a God. Since then we may reasonably suppose these are his worst Opinions, it will be needless to shew from other Parts of his Writings, that he was not an Atheist. I am afraid many of our modern Deists don't believe as much as he did. One of the Opinions for which he was condemned, supposes his Belief of a future State, & *Diabolum Salvatum iri. Scioppius* says, if he would have confessed his Errors, he might have been saved. What Errors? His owning a God, a Providence, a future State, or his Belief of the Christian Religion, would not have satisfied the *Inquisition*. He must have owned his Belief of *Popery*, which if he had done, the rest perhaps might have been remitted to him. And indeed, considering his scandalous Life (which he could not conceal even in his Writings) it is a Wonder he stuck at any Thing. If on the other Hand we think him sincere in the Belief of a future State, his Case is nothing more than this; that he chose to dye rather than renounce his Hopes of Salvation, by professing his Belief of the Popish Superstition, which he thought was a Cheat upon the World. After all, there is no knowing with any Certainty, what was the real Crime for which he suffered, when the Inquisition were his Judges [q].

But let the Author suppose him what he will; was his Behaviour like that of a Primitive Martyr? Was he as steady and uniform in his Opinions? No, we are told he prevaricated shamefully [p]: And the Account of

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[p] *Modo 40 dies obtinuit, quibus deliberaret, modo promisit palinodiam, modo denuo suas nugas defendit, modo alios 40 dies impetravit.* Sciop.

[q] Mr. *Patin* says, *he was burnt for* Heresy. Il fut brulé en Italie a son retour de France pour Heresie. *Patiniana*, p. 34.

it

it is given us by one, whose Business it was to represent him as obstinate in Opinion as possible, the better to justify the Severity of the *Sentence*.

His last Instance is one *Mahomet Effendi*; and this (for want of other Accounts) we must take in the manner Sir *Paul Ricaut* has represented it.

The Substance then of this Proof, introduced with great Sufficiency and *Admiration at the Simplicity of good Men* [q] who differ from him, amounts to this; that the Sufferings of that vast Company of Martyrs *who endured Persecution for their Faith*, with so much *Chearfulness* and *Constancy*, was owing in every Instance to *Pride* and *firm Constitutions*; BECAUSE Mr. *Bayle* has told him a Story of one executed at *Constantinople* for Atheism: A poor, narrow thinking Wretch, who had no better Argument to support him in his Infidelity, than that if there was a God, he could not be as wise as the Doctors preached he was, in suffering such an Enemy as himself to live [r]! A Member of an infamous Sect or Club, whose constant Entertainment for any Brother Infidel that was their Guest, was to provide for their Lust with either Sex which they most delighted in [s]!

The Reader will naturally think, it is by Mistake that I mention Mr. *Bayle* as the Person who told him this Story; and yet I believe it will appear he had no other Authority for it. He is such a blind Follower of this *Frenchman*, that he dare not as much as quote an *English* Writer, unless *He* introduces him and speaks for him. When I say Mr. *Bayle*, I would not be understood to mean Mr. *Bayle* in the Original; no, he

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[q] P. 237.
[r] Ibid.
[s] Sir *Paul Ricaut*'s Present State of the *Ottoman* Empire. *B.* 2. *C.* 12. Ibid.

must

muſt go one Step farther, and take the *Engliſh* Tranſlator of him [u].

It may be ſeen by conſulting the Paſſages underneath, that Sir *Paul Ricaut* tells the Story in very different Language [w], and in one Particular very different as to the Fact. Any one would gueſs from Mr. *Bayle* and his Follower, that this *Mahomet Effendi was executed for advancing ſome* philoſophical *Notions*, ſome particular Tenets *againſt the Exiſtence of a God:* And as ſuch it was certainly proper for Mr. *Bayle*'s Purpoſe, and conſequently our Author's, to repreſent it. Inſtead of which we find he was executed for ſuch common blaſphemous Diſcourſe, as might reaſonably be expected from the moſt profligate Wretch in the midſt of his

[u] To this Example of *Vanini* we may join that of one † *Mahomet Effendi*, executed at *Conſtantinople* not long ago, for having advanced ſome Notions againſt the Exiſtence of a God. He might have ſaved his Life by confeſſing his Error, and renouncing it for the future; but choſe to perſiſt in his Blaſphemies, ſaying, *Though he had no Reward to expect, the Love of Truth conſtrained him to ſuffer Martyrdom in its Defence.* Engl. Tranſl. of Mr. *Bayle*'s Miſcellan. Reflect. occaſioned by a Comet, p. 379. Sect. 182.

To theſe we may join one *Mahomet Effendi*, who, as Sir *Paul Ricaut* tells us, was put to Death at *Conſtantinople*, for having advanced ſome Notions againſt the Exiſtence of a God. He likewiſe might have ſaved his Life by confeſſing his Error, and renouncing it for the future; but choſe rather to perſiſt in his Blaſphemies, ſaying, *Though he had no Reward to expect, the Love of Truth conſtrain'd him to ſuffer Martyrdom in its Defence.* Fable of the Bees, p. 238.

[w] One of this Sect called *Mahomet Effendi*, ——— I remember, was in my Time executed for impudently proclaiming his Blaſphemies againſt the Being of a Deity; making it in his ordinary Diſcourſe, an Argument againſt the Being of a God; for that either there was none at all, or elſe not ſo wiſe as the Doctors preached he was, in ſuffering him to live who was the greateſt Enemy and Scorner of a Divine Eſſence, that ever came into the World. And it is obſervable, that this Man might, notwithſtanding his Accuſation, have ſaved his Life, would he but have confeſſed his Error, and promiſed for the future an Aſſent to the Principles of a better; But he perſiſted ſtill in his Blaſphemies, ſaying, *That though there were no Reward, yet the Love of Truth obliged him to dye a Martyr.* Sir Paul Ricaut.

† Sir *Paul Rycaut*, l. 2. ch. 12.

Debauchery. The Reader will be of Opinion, that, if in any thing he has given a faithful Account of this Matter, it is apparently by Chance.

That it mayn't be thought he is hardly uſed in this Suggeſtion, I'll give another Inſtance of the ſame Kind, from the ſame Writers, that will put this Matter out of doubt. Mr. *Bayle* in his 165th Section is to ſhew *how the Impurity that prevails among Chriſtians does Hurt to the Chriſtian Religion*; and from thence to prove the Uſefulneſs of publick Stews, as the moſt effectual Method to prevent Lewdneſs. I ſhall give it to the Reader in the common Tranſlation, with the Change only of two or three Words where it varied from Mr. *Bayle*. '*This* '*Remark on the Extenſiveneſs of Impurity among Chriſti-* '*ans, brings a Paſſage to my Mind out of Mr.* Ricaut [x]: 'That the *Turks* laugh at our ſpeaking of the Strictneſs of 'the Chriſtian Religion, in allowing only one Wife, and 'making a Familiarity with any other Woman unlaw-'ful. 'Tis true, *adds he*, to our Confuſion, the Diſ-'ſoluteneſs of our Lives and Manners gives theſe In-'fidels juſt Occaſion of Reproach and Raillery, and 'of telling us our Practice deſtroys our Principles. 'They are ſcandalized, not only at the Numbers, who 'violate the holy Rules of Chriſtianity by an impure 'and abominable Life, but at the municipal Laws and 'known Privileges authorizing Fornication. This 'they prove from the publick Stews in *Italy*. They 'know Impurity is a kind of Merchandize and Traf-'fick at *Venice* and *Naples*; that the *Courtizans* at '*Rome*, and *Cantoneras* in *Spain*, make a Part of the 'Body of the State, and are under a legal Tax and 'Impoſt. They can't comprehend the Reaſons on 'which this Policy is founded, nor what the *Italians* 'can ſay in Defence of ſuch a Practice.

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[x] Etat de l'Empire Ottom. l. 2. ch. 21.

Mr. *Bayle* goes on. ' *This Author ſhould have carried his Sincerity a little farther, and ingenuouſly owned, that* Spaniards *and* Italians *are not the only Nations blameable. For bating* the Tax and Impoſts, *the Courtizans of* London *don't come behind thoſe of* Spain *or* Italy, *either in Numbers, Impudence, or the peaceable Impunity they enjoy. Such a Relation* as Mr. de St. Didier's *were uſeful to convince the World in this Point; and* Mr. Ricaut *ſhould not have forgot old* England, *and ſo cheaply give up the Honour of other Nations to the Raileries of Infidels. However, this Reaſon of the* Italians, *which he ſays the* Turks *can't comprehend, affords a cogent Argument. 'Tis well known, the Reaſon of their tolerating lewd Houſes, is to prevent a worſe Evil, an Impurity of a more execrable Kind, and to provide for the Safety of Women of Honour,* &c. [y].

The Author of *the Fable*, without ſaying a Word of Sir *Paul Ricaut*, tells you, that he *owes this Paragraph to Mr.* Bayle [z]. It ſtands thus. ' At *Venice* and *Naples* Impurity is a kind of Merchandize and Traffick; the *Courtizans* at *Rome*, and the *Cantoneras* in *Spain*, compoſe a Body in the State, and are under a legal Tax and Impoſt. It is well known, that the Reaſon why ſo many good Politicians as theſe tolerate lewd Houſes, is not their Irreligion, but to prevent a worſe Evil, an Impurity of a more execrable Kind, and to provide for the Safety of Women of Honour [a].

In Sir *Paul Ricaut*, it ſtands thus [b]: ' And here the *Turks* upon occaſional Diſcourſes of the Severity and Strictneſs of the Chriſtian Religion in Matters of

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[y] *Penſées divers*, &c. Sect. 165.
[z] P. 99. [a] P. 98. [b] Book 2. ch. 21.

' Concu-

‘ Concupiſcence, telling them that no Copulation is
‘ allowable but in the Marriage Bed, and that reſtrain-
‘ ed and confined to one Wife, without the Addition
‘ of Slaves to ſatisfy with Variety the corrupted Fancy;
‘ that the very Thoughts of Luſt and Concupiſcence
‘ pollute the Purity of the Soul; *and that whoſoever*
‘ *looks on a Woman to luſt after her, commits Adultery in*
‘ *his Heart*; they preſently deride theſe our Precepts
‘ and our Laws, which Chriſtians not only with their
‘ Actions and corrupted Lives contemn as invalid, but
‘ Authority itſelf, not by a ſingle Connivance only, but
‘ by Indulgences and Privileges, foments and encou-
‘ rages Perſons walking contrary to that which is con-
‘ feſſed to be an indiſpenſible Law. For Proof where-
‘ of they mention the Stews of *Italy*, Whoredom made
‘ an allowable Trade and Profeſſion in *Venice* and *Na-*
‘ *ples*, and the City of *Rome*, and the *Gantoneras* in
‘ *Spain*, and framed into a politick Body (as it is rela-
‘ ted and apprehended by the *Turks)* from whence Tax-
‘ es and Impoſitions are raiſed: The *Turks* comprehend
‘ not the politick Grounds hereof, with which in *Italy*
‘ this Maxim is defended; nor is it fitting to produce
‘ the Reaſons, or argue it with them; ſince the Benefit
‘ which accrues to the *Roman* Church, and the Profits
‘ that ariſe thence, being employed in the Maintenance
‘ of Gallies and Forces againſt Infidels, is the beſt can
‘ be ſaid to hallow this Permiſſion: But it is an impro-
‘ per Argument with a *Turk* to excuſe this Licenſe and
‘ Authority to Sin, upon Conſiderations of being bet-
‘ ter able to war againſt the Profeſſors of his Religion.
‘ And therefore the *Turk* will hardly be convinced,
‘ but that this manner of Concubinage [c] hath much
‘ more of Sanctity, Order and Policy in it, as being

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[c] He means Polygamy, and the Uſe of their Female Slaves.

'free from Diſeaſes and Foulneſs, than the wan-
'dring Luſts of Stews, or Impudence of *Courtezans*,
'made bold and hard horeheaded by Conceſſion of
'Authority.' He then adds, '*Pudet hæc opprobria nobis*
'*& dici potuiſſe*, &c.

I am afraid I have tired the Reader with theſe long Quotations. He will obſerve in ſeveral Inſtances, how diſingenuouſly Mr. *Bayle* has dealt with Sir *Paul Ricaut*, and how obſequiouſly our Author has copied after him or his *Engliſh* Tranſlator. That Courtezans were *framed into a politick Body* in *Venice*, *Naples*, *Rome*, &c. was an Opinion that prevailed among the *Turks*. No doubt but they thought they were an eſſential Part of the Conſtitution: and ſo far it is plain Sir *Paul Ricaut* repreſents it as a Miſtake they were under. To ſay that our *Hawkers* in the Streets make a *politick Body*, or Body in the State, would certainly be a much truer and juſter Account of them, which yet I believe would give a *Turk* but a wrong Notion of their Dignity and Conſideration. Mr. *Bayle* puts it ſtronger yet, *Ay*, ſays he, *they know that Courtezans make Part of the Body of the State* [d]. Ay, that they do, ſays his *Engliſh* Tranſlator [e], and our Author humbly after him [f], *they compoſe a Body in the State*.

I believe there is no one who reads the Quotation in Mr. *Bayle*, but would really think Sir *Paul Ricaut* was, underhand, ſneering the Chriſtian Religion, and ſhewing how much the *Turks*, in Point of Argument, triumphed over it. It is a Way of talking ſo familiar to Mr. *Bayle*, that if he were to quote the moſt ſerious Paſſages out of other Authors, and put them into his own Language, it is odds but there would appear this

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[d] *Font partie du Corps de l'Etat.*
[e] P. 334. [f] P. 98.

Turn of Ridicule in it. *'Tis true*, adds he, *to our Confuſion, the Diſſoluteneſs of our Lives and Manners gives thoſe Infidels juſt Occaſion of Reproach and Raillery*[e]. If *Sir* Paul Ricaut had ſaid any Thing like this, why could not Mr. *Bayle* have truſted it with his Readers, by tranſlating it fairly? And yet there is not one Word of this in Sir *Paul Ricaut*, nor any thing equivalent to it. He is complaining in a ſerious Chriſtian-like manner, that the ſcandalous Toleration of publick Stews in ſome *Popiſh* Countries, and the Privileges allowed them, had given Offence to the *Turks*, and ſupplied them with an Opportunity of reproaching Chriſtians, not ſo much that their Lives and Manners, as that their *Laws* and *eſtabliſhed* Cuſtoms contradicted the Precepts of their Religion. Mr. *Bayle*, who is loath that any one Part of Chriſtianity ſhould be in better Repute with *Infidels* than another, immediately falls upon Sir *Paul Ricaut*, taxes him with want of Honeſty and Sincerity, for ſo *cheaply giving up the Honour of other Nations to the Railleries of Infidels*, and not letting the Religion of his own Country come in for a Share of the Scandal. The *Turks*, ſays Sir *Paul Ricaut*, reproach Chriſtians, that at *Venice*, *Naples*, *Rome*, &c. publick Stews are licenſed by their Laws; that *Authority it ſelf*, *not by a ſingle Connivance only*, *but by Indulgences and Privileges foments and encourages Perſons walking contrary to that which is confeſſed to be an indiſpenſible Law*[f]. Therefore Sir *Paul Ricaut* ſhews a want of Honeſty and Sincerity, becauſe he had not laid his own Country under the ſame Reproach among Infidels, where they are *not* licenſed, nor allowed any Privileges at all; nay, where the Laws puniſh Fornication with ſo much Strictneſs, as to admit of common

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[e] Mr. *Bayle's* Penſ. Diver.

[f] Book 2. ch. 21.

Fame

Fame for ſufficient Evidence againſt Perſons accuſed of leading lewd and diſorderly Lives. It was that Courtezans were tolerated *by Law*, that they were *framed into a politick Body (as it was related and apprehended by the Turks)* that gave them this occaſion of reproaching Chriſtianity, and not that ſome of its Profeſſors did not ſtrictly live up to the Precepts of it. It would indeed be abſurd to ſuppoſe a *Turk* ſhould make *that* his chief Objection againſt the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, which he could not but know would recoil with greater Force upon his own. We know for Inſtance, that the Uſe of Wine is ſtrictly forbid to them [g], which yet we are told was at that Time *publickly drank* among them, and *always* with great Exceſs [h], *without Cautions, or fear of giving Scandal* [i].

Mr. *Bayle*'s writing in another Language, and probably underſtanding little or nothing of *Engliſh*, will be ſome ſort of Excuſe for him. But what ſhall we ſay to an *Engliſh* Writer, who, when he had occaſion to quote a Book writ in the ſame Language, muſt have Recourſe to this *Frenchman* or his Tranſlator for the meaning of it? who thus blindly follows him wherever he has an Opportunity in his Errors and Miſrepreſentations of others?

I choſe to mention this Inſtance, as it related to a Subject that will be ſpoke to more particularly hereafter. Whoever will be at the Pains to compare many Pages in this or any other of his Performances with the ſame Paſſages in Mr. *Bayle*, will ſoon find

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[g] Wine, Games of Hazard, *&c.* are Abominations and filthy Practices of the Devil.——The Devil deſireth to ſow Sedition among you thro' Wine, *&c.* Abandon Wine, *&c. The Alcoran* Chap. 5. *This, we are told,* the Expoſitors of the Law *have explained into a yet more ſuperſtitious Rigour.*

[h] The Turks think it impoſſible to drink Wine with Moderation. Sir *Paul Ricant*'s Preſent State of the *Ott.* Emp. Book 2. Ch. 25.

[i] Ibid.

more

more of the ſame Kind. To return to the Paſſage in *the Fable of the Bees.*

This Writer is every where valuing himſelf for his *tracing Self-love in its darkeſt Receſſes*[f], and for making *great Diſcoveries in the World of Self-Love. What Hurt*, ſays he, *do I do to Man, if I make him more known to himſelf than he was before*[g]? This he gives an Inſtance of in the Words that introduce this Piece of Calumny upon the Chriſtian Martyrs. *There is no Pitch of Self-denial that a Man of Pride and Conſtitution cannot reach, nor any Paſſion ſo violent but he will ſacrifice it to another which is ſuperior to it*[h]. That is, there is no Man ſo ſtrong but he will yield to one that is ſtronger, or at leaſt that ſtronger Man will get the better of him. Had he been content to ſay in a plain Way, that the ſtrongeſt Paſſions will ever get the better of weaker ones, the World perhaps would not have thought themſelves much obliged to him for the Diſcovery. This however would have been talking Senſe. But in order to *make you more known to yourſelf*, he has diſcovered, that you will ſacrifice the very ſtrongeſt Paſſion you have to one yet ſtronger. He goes on triumphing upon this Diſcovery; *And here*, ſays he, *I cannot but admire at the Simplicity of ſome good Men*, &c. Now whether *good* Men are the only People in the World who labour under this Infirmity, will deſerve his Conſideration before he writes another Panegyrick upon his Work.

It is preſumed the Reader is by this Time ſenſible what Uſage Religion has met with in *the Fable of the Bees*; not only that ſingle Paſſages in Scripture, but that Chriſtianity itſelf, nay, that the very firſt Principles of natural Religion are ſubverted, to make Way for this

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[f] P. 467. [g] P. 256. [h] P. 237.

Book

Book of exalted Morality, this *infallible Touchſtone*, this *Syſtem of Ethicks beyond any other* [i]. He ſeems to be now and then ſenſible, that this will be objected to him; and in one Place particularly he deſires the Reader in his merry Way, that he may be conſidered as a good and devout Chriſtian. After he has endeavoured to ſhew, that the Diſtinction between Good and Evil, Virtue and Vice, were the Contrivance of crafty Politicians, which with the Aſſiſtance of a Pack of Raſcals they ſet a going, and made current in the World, he is pleaſed to propoſe this as the proper Ground-Work of Chriſtianity: upon which he wraps himſelf up in a ſort of Meditation, that his Adverſaries will be content ſhould paſs for a compleat Defence of himſelf and his Writings, with as many as underſtand it [k]. In the ſame manner they will give him leave to claim all thoſe for Proſelytes to his Opinions, who can find out the Meaning of his excellent Parable of *Small Beer* [l].

If in Defence of himſelf, or by Way of Objection to what has been ſaid in the foregoing Papers, he ſhould tell us he claims only a certain *Proportion* of every Vice, or ſome *particular* Vices only, as uſeful to a Society, neither will this Pretence be of any Uſe to him. For as what has been ſaid to ſhew the Miſchiefs of Vice and Roguery in general, will be found true as to every leſſer Degree of them, ſo it is impoſſible to offer any Pleas in favour of that leſſer Degree, that won't

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[i] P. 467.

[k] P. 43 *and* 44. If the too ſcrupulous Reader ſhould at firſt View condemn thoſe Notions concerning the Origin of moral Virtue, and think them perhaps offenſive to Chriſtianity, I hope he will forbear his Cenſures, when he ſhall conſider, that nothing can render the unſearchable Depth of the Divine Wiſdom more conſpicuous, than that *Man*, whom Providence had deſigned for Society, ſhould not only by his own Frailties and Imperfections be led into the Road to temporal Happineſs, but likewiſe receive from a ſeeming Neceſſity of natural Cauſes, a Tincture of that Knowledge, in which he was afterwards to be made perfect by the true Religion, to his eternal Welfare.

[l] *From* p. 262, *to* p. 267.

prove

prove as ſtrongly in favour of any Degree whatever. Or what particular Crimes will he claim as uſeful beyond others? There is none that ſeems to have leſs to be ſaid for it, nor any kind of Roguery more generally odious among us, than common Perjury (unleſs any one has a Mind to defend it out of Zeal to the late ſwearing Act.) An Oath has been generally look'd upon as one of the firmeſt Bonds of Society, and a general Diſregard to the Obligations of it, to have an immediate Tendency to diſſolve or deſtroy Society; and yet as miſchievous as Perjury may be thought, it is as neceſſary to his Scheme, as any one Crime that can be named. How many Sages of the long Robe, and Dependants upon them, are employed in providing againſt the Miſchiefs ariſing from Perjury, who all (according to him) would be left without Employment, if a punctual and religious Regard were always to be paid to an Oath, and the Obligations of it? How would it thin the Courts of Juſtice, if *the whole Truth and nothing but the Truth* were always to be given in Evidence?

But he muſt be very cloſely purſued, or elſe it muſt be only to amuſe the World, if he takes Refuge in ſo idle an Excuſe, and which the whole Tendency of his Scheme ſo plainly contradicts. That *private Vices are publick Benefits*, is aſſerted without Limitation; that *Evil moral as well as natural is the ſolid Baſis*, &c. and when *the whole Maſs was a Paradiſe*, the Reader will obſerve, he ſays, *every Part was full of Vice.* Till therefore he is pleaſed to retract theſe general Poſitions, or offers ſome Limitations to them, and defends them ſo limited, upon Principles conſiſtent with common Senſe; the Reader muſt conclude he intends them in the ſame Latitude, in which we find the Opinions firſt broached here in *England.*

But inſtead of explaining his Opinions, it was quite giving up his Cauſe, when in anſwer to the Preſent-

ment of the Grand-Jury, he ſaid, *the Encomiums upon Stews complained of were no where in the Book* [p]. Let the Reader turn to Page 95, and the following ones, and he will find nothing elſe but *Encomiums upon Stews*. Does not he ſay, they *preſerve the Honour of our Wives and Daughters*, guard the *Innocence of Virgins* and prevent Rapes [q]? Does not he extol the *Wiſdom* of the *Rulers* in *that well ordered City*, Amſterdam, for tolerating Stews? That *in this Toleration there is a great deal of Prudence and Oeconomy* [r]? Does not he cite with Applauſe the Example of other Countries, where *good Politicians tolerate lewd Houſes*, not out of *Irreligion, but to prevent worſe Evils, and to provide for the Safety of Women of Honour* [s]? Does not he for this Purpoſe quote in his Scholar-like Way the Authority of ſeveral other Writers? Does not he ſay, that Mr. *Bayle* a *French* Writer ſays, that Sir *Paul Ricaut* an *Engliſh* Writer ſays, that the *Turks* uſed to ſay to him, that they had *heard*, that in ſome Chriſtian Countries Fornication was tolerated by the State, and made *a kind of Merchandize and Traffick* [t]? Again, does not he ſay, that Mr. *Bayle* ſays [u], that Mr. *de St. Didier* ſays [w], that one *Doglioni* ſays [x], that the *Venetians* were much in the right to get Whores from Abroad, when they had not enough of their own at Home? Are theſe Things *no where in the Book*? Or are not theſe *Encomiums upon Stews*?

What Tendency theſe publick Stews (ſo piouſly recommended in this Treatiſe of *ſevere and exalted Morality*) have, towards preventing Adultery, Rapes, or other Crimes, or guarding the Innocence of Virgins, is the next Thing to be conſidered.

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[p] P. 468. [q] P. 95. [r] P. 95 *and* 96. [s] P. 98.
[t] P. 98. [u] Penſ. diver. Sect. 165.
[w] Monſ. *de St. Didier*, Relat. *de Venice*, Chap. des Courtiſ.
[x] Le Doglioni qui a écrit les choſes notables de Venice.

SECT. VI.

VICES as well as Virtues may be obſerved to have a Connexion with one another. For nothing can make a Man honeſt or virtuous but a Regard to ſome religious or moral Principles. Now the Obligation to all Virtues is the ſame: The ſame God and the ſame Voice of Nature, that ſays, *do not kill*, and *do not ſteal*, having ſaid alſo *do not commit Adultery* [x]. So that a Man's indulging himſelf in one Vice, will naturally lead him on to the Commiſſion of others; or in other Words, an habitual Diſregard to Virtue in any one Inſtance, will make the Practice of it ſeem of leſs Conſequence in all.

If this be true with Regard to different Vices, it is yet more immediately ſo, as to the ſeveral Degrees of the ſame Vice. To apply this to the Caſe in Hand.

As there is plainly a Modeſty implanted in our Nature, and intended as a Fence againſt the Commiſſion of Vice, ſo it is particularly ſtrong in the Inſtance of Lewdneſs. It is naturally as prevalent in *Men* as in *Women*, though Cuſtom has been ſo kind to the *one*, as to make the Breach of it be thought a leſs Crime than in the *others*. This is very much ſtrengthened by a Pleaſure (or to give it the worſt Turn, a Vanity) ariſing from the Conſciouſneſs of Innocence. When any one has found his Endeavours to conquer his Inclinations prove ſucceſsful hitherto, it muſt encourage him the better to guard againſt Temptations for the future.

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[x] Mark x. 19. *and* James ii. 11.

But when this Fence is once broken through, as the ſecond Treſpaſs will be committed with much leſs Violence to himſelf than the firſt, ſo the Tranſitions from one Degree of Vice to another, will ſeem eaſy to him. *Nullus enim magni ſceleris labor* [y].

This is more eſpecially true, where Vice is countenanced by *Authority*. For in that Caſe, *Nemo ſatis credit tantum delinquere quantum permittas, adeo indulgent ſibi latius ipſi.* It will be but a wretched Excuſe for the Magiſtrate when he finds this Licence abuſed and ſtretched beyond the original Deſign of it, to ſay, *Hæc ego nunquam mandavi*; for the Anſwer will for ever hold true, *Mentis cauſa malæ tamen eſt, & origo penes te.* When any one finds his irregular Deſires are heightened by *his* Encouragement, or aſſiſted by *his* Connivance, it won't be in the Magiſtrate's Power to ſtop him in his Progreſs, or to fix the particular Bounds of Vice which he ſhall not paſs, *Quem ſi revoces ſubſiſtere neſcit, Et te contempto rapitur metiſque relictis.*

If it were poſſible a young Fellow at firſt ſetting out, could have before his Eyes all the Conſequences that an Indulgence of his Luſt would ever be attended with; the Ruin of Women, the Diſhonour of Families, the Wrong to Husbands, and the Torment and Diſeaſes it might bring upon himſelf; I ſay, if all this were preſented to his View, while he is yet innocent, he muſt be ſhocked at the Horror of the Scene, and would naturally reſolve againſt the Commiſſion even of the leſſer Degrees of this Vice, if ſuch an Exceſs of Guilt muſt be the fatal Effects of it. Now a conſtant Habit in any leſſer Degrees of this Vice, is the ready Road to all this Miſchief. It debauches the Mind, drowns Reflection, and lays Conſcience aſleep; by which

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[y] Juv. Sat. 14. *from* v. 234, to 234.

Means

Means the Progreſs he makes in Vice is ſcarce perceptible even to himſelf.

In the Inſtance commonly look'd upon as the *leaſt* criminal ſort of Lewdneſs, it ought to be conſidered, that every one who frequents publick Stews, or deals in random Amours, ſets out with an Uncertainty whether the Woman he has to do with be a Wife or no; and from an Uncertainty whether ſhe is ſo or no, he will by Degrees grow very little ſhocked at a Certainty that ſhe is ſo. It is but the ſame Crime he *may* have been guilty of before; and when he is ſure of that, what greater Guilt can there be in a Commerce with one Man's Wife than another's? Till at laſt the Wife of his own Friend, if he has Opportunities for attacking her Virtue, and Skill enough to prevail, ſhall fall a Sacrifice to *his* Luſt, who at firſt ſetting out, never dreamt of any greater Crime than what paſſes under the gentle Name of *ſimple Fornication.*'

The Aſſiſtance of the Magiſtrate will make the Progreſs in this Vice ſtill eaſier. It will be ſome ſort of Excuſe to People not much given to thinking (and God knows, a very ſlender Excuſe will paſs with *moſt* Men upon theſe Occaſions) that the Magiſtrate himſelf allows of this Practice. There can be no great Harm ſure in what our Governors themſelves (who ought to know beſt) are pleaſed to encourage. If there is a Danger of committing Adultery in theſe *tolerated* Houſes, it is a Danger they themſelves are appriz'd of, and let them anſwer for the Guilt of it. Theſe are the poor Shifts the *generality* of young and gay People (ſuch of them I mean, who are not ſo harden'd as to want no Excuſes at all) would be apt to take up with; which, if they don't prove themſelves very *innocent*, do however ſhew their Governors to be very faulty in laying ſuch Temptations in their Way.

I ſhall

I shall be told perhaps, there are Men of better Understandings, who won't be carried away with such weak Pretences; that such will make no other Use of this Licence, than what the Magistrate himself must be supposed to intend by it; and that these abhor Adultery as much as others of the strictest Virtue and Continence.

As to the first, it should be remembred, that Men of Pleasure are not very apt to enquire into the Grounds and Reasonableness of any Indulgence that is granted them, especially when it falls in so strongly with their own Inclinations, however inquisitive they may be, into the Nature and Extent of the Magistrate's Power, and the Prudence of his exerting it, when he attempts to abridge them of their Liberties.

As to the second, I would not be so uncharitable, as to suggest that *every* Man who frequents publick Stews, would go the utmost Lengths of this Vice. Some would be startled at the Thoughts of debauching and ruining of Women, and would never be prevailed upon to injure their Friend in what his Quiet and Happiness are so nearly and so essentially concerned in. Some of this Sort, I say, there may be. But when Opportunities fall in their Way, and the Hopes of Concealment appear pretty certain, such Instances I am afraid are not every Day to be met with. It is to be hoped the Men of this Turn have some Scheme of Principles to act upon, some Way of seriously interpreting the Precepts of Religion and Virtue different from other People, some Distinction to convince them that the lesser Degrees of Lewdness are *entirely* innocent [z], when the grosser Sorts of it appear to them *compleatly*

[z] *Bayle's* Reflections occasioned by the Comet, *&c. speaking of the Sin of Uncleanness*, all Christians agree, that it is forbid by the Law of God. Sect. 162.

wicked;

wicked; in short, some consistent way of Thinking to reconcile their Practice to their cool and serious Opinions. That *there is no great Harm in a little Pleasure taken out of the Way*, may pass well enough in the Gayety of Company; but when a Man converses only with himself, when he has not the Mirth of his Companions to assist and support the Weakness of such a Pretence, it can't have Force enough left in it to prevail with People of Sense. How then must we judge of Mankind? A Punctilio of Honour may now and then restrain a Man from the grosser Injuries that attend the Practice of this Vice, but it is too *whimsical* and too *unsteady* a Principle to prevail with *many* Men, or with *any* Man *continually*. Where Opportunity is at Hand, and all Danger of Discovery at a Distance, what can stand in the Way to his Pleasure? A Punctilio of Honour will be too weak to keep its Ground long, where Conscience has lost all footing before.

I think we may safely infer from hence, that the Numbers of those who have this Command over themselves, and stop short in the Progress of Vice; who can resist the strongest Temptations, when the yielding to them exceeds the Bounds they have prescribed themselves, and yet can give into the lesser Degrees of this Vice, are extreamly rare. It is indeed impossible they should be many, unless some settled Principle could be found out for them to act upon. It will be true then, *generally* speaking, that Men would fall into such a Progress of Vice as I have described, and that an Encouragement from the Magistrate would make it still easier.

And lastly, As to the Dread, which the Objection supposes these Men of better Understandings have of Adultery *itself*, the Sincerity of such a Profession may be judged of from their constant Practice. They run a very great Hazard of it in every random Amour they deal in. For there is no providing against Wives making

ing a Part of publick Stews, and it would be ridiculous to attempt it. And therefore the Author, instead of saying that Stews should be tolerated to preserve the Chastity of *Women of Honour*, might have owned at first (what he is forced to give into afterwards) that the State ought to debauch [a] some Women to preserve the Chastity of *others*; or in other Words, that in all well regulated Societies, like that of *Venice* [b], the Magistrate ought to be Pimp General for his People.

And yet as barefaced a Piece of Wickedness, as such a Provision for Lust may appear, this or some such Method must constantly be taken to supply any tolerated Stews. That is, whenever there is a Scarcity of Strumpets who voluntarily offer themselves for publick Use, it is the Business of the Magistrate to employ a Set of hellish Agents in the Work of debauching Wives or Virgins, who are to serve as a Nursery for common Prostitution. But this indeed is a Mischief that nothing less than a Miracle can put us in any Danger of here. Supplies would come in sure fast enough, and if it were possible to suppose a want of them in other Countries, the Exportation of Whores might make a considerable Branch of Trade, and in Time go near to unpeople the Island.

The Women that supply the common Stews, were themselves once chaste and virtuous; and the Preservation of *their* Chastity was of as much Value and Concern to the Commonwealth, as that of other Women; and such of the Plyers there, as the Stews don't actually *debauch*, they do at least *continue* and *confirm* in their *Debauchery*; they prevent any Amendment of their Lives by securing a sort of Retreat for their Prostitution.

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[a] P. 99. [b] P. 98, *and* 99.

This

This Retreat, the more commodious it is made for them, the greater Encouragement it will give to Lewdneſs; and the leſs Eſteem will Women ſet upon their Virtue, when the Inconveniencies attending the Loſs of it are ſo handſomely provided againſt.

When the Author therefore talks with ſo much Reverence of *Women of Honour* [c], one would think he ſhould mean only *modeſt* Women. If he intends it in any other Senſe, all Women are alike *Women of Honour* till they are debauched, and it is alike the Duty and Intereſt of the Magiſtrate to keep them ſo. The tattered Cloaths of the pooreſt Wretch may contain as much Virtue in them, as the ſplendid Dreſs of a Counteſs; and it is out of mere Reſpect to Quality one would avoid purſuing the Compariſon.

If Courtezans and Strumpets were to be proſecuted with as much Rigour as ſome ſilly People would have it (ſays the Author) [d], *what Locks or Bars would be ſufficient to preſerve the Honour of our Wives and Daughters?* Whoſe Wives and Daughters does he talk of? If the Honour of ſome Mens Wives and Daughters is to be ſo tenderly taken Care of, why muſt a *Sacrifice* [e] be made of other Mens Wives and Daughters to procure that Safety for them? For whoſe Pleaſure and Gratification muſt theſe Houſes be tolerated? If it is chiefly to ſerve the Luſt of *Men* above the common Sort, or out of a Pretence to guard the Chaſtity of *Women* of Faſhion, common Juſtice will dictate that the Price of all this ſhould come from People of the ſame Rank, and Women of Condition ſtand at leaſt the common Lot of Proſtitution to preſerve the Chaſtity of the reſt. There is no great Danger that Men of the lower Sort ſhould attempt the Chaſtity of their Betters, unleſs the firſt Over-

[c] P. 95, 98, *and* 99. [d] P. 95. [e] P. 99.

tures came from *thence*. Why then ſhould not the Return be equal? Or with what Juſtice can Governors interpoſe to prevent this, and have in View the debauching poor Women to preſerve the Honour of their own Wives and Daughters?

If any Man grown inſolent from his Birth or Fortune ſhould feel any Indignation from the Freedom of this Way of Reaſoning; if either the Husband, Father, Brother, Kinſman, or Friend ſhould riſe up within him to demand Regard to the Honour and Chaſtity of the Perſon under his Care; if he finds himſelf ſhocked even at the Hazard ſhe would run of ſerving the Town as a common Proſtitute, in caſe the Numbers for that Purpoſe were to be decided by Lot; if he feels any thing of this, let him remember, firſt, that the Publick is concerned in one as much as the other: Then, let him conſider, what Pain the *poor* Man muſt ſuffer from the Debauchery of a Child he placed his chief Comfort in; one whom he hoped to ſee the virtuous Wife of ſome plain honeſt Man, but whom by the Encouragement of the Magiſtrate he now ſees debauched, or at leaſt continued a Proſtitute in *tolerated Stews*? There are poor Men who have as quick a Senſe of Shame as their Betters, and of the Blemiſh themſelves and Relations receive from ſuch a Way of Life. And it will be but a ſlender Satisfaction to him, that his Wife or Daughter is proſtituted to the Luſt of thoſe who would otherwiſe attempt the Honour of ſome richer Woman. Even in common Caſes (whatever the Pride of Wealth and Birth may ſuggeſt) there are poor Men, who have no Ambition to have the mean healthy Blood that would run in the Veins of their Poſterity, improved from the Vices and Diſeaſes of Quality. But perhaps it was unneceſſary to inſiſt ſo much upon this.

For allowing for once (as the Author would have it) that the Magiſtrate may lawfully debauch *poor* Wenches, to preſerve the Chaſtity of *Gentleſolks*; does he think that a Toleration of Stews would have that Effect in *England*? And that if the Magiſtrate were to endeavour it, it would be poſſible to reſtrain this Proſtitution to Women only of the loweſt Degree? at a Time when Vanity and Extravagance are arrived to ſuch a heighth among us, *the aukward Manner, hard Hands, coarſe Breeding, and tawdry Dreſs of the Wenches, who in the Day time carry Fruit about in Wheelbarrows* [f], would not go down ſo well with the *Engliſh* Taſte. Our Gentry are ſeldom ſo frugal in their Pleaſures as *a Dutch Sailor* [g]; and to their Shame be it ſpoken, I am afraid many of them would outbid even a Burghomaſter of *Amſterdam*. Large Prices will naturally raiſe the Ambition of the Traders to gratify the Taſte of their Cuſtomers with better Fare. In a Country therefore ſo polite as ours is, we ſhould have different *Ranks* of Whores for the different Quality of Gueſts. We are very apt to improve, and no doubt but very ſoon, beſides the *tolerated Stews* for Women of the lower Sort, we ſhould have *tolerated Aſſemblies* for Ladies of better Faſhion. I ſay, by the Aſſiſtance of the Court and Magiſtrates, all this, *and other Improvements*, might reaſonably be expected. There would be no Fear of ſuch a Scarcity, as to oblige the Parliament *to procure a Number of Whores from foreign Parts* [h].

It will be found, I am afraid, that the Danger of this is not altogether imaginary. For beſides the Temptation Women of Condition would be under from the Unfaſhionableneſs of Marriage (which would ſoon be

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[f] P. 96. [g] P. 95, l. 21. [h] P. 99.

the Conſequence of tolerated Stews) the Sex in general, even at preſent, ſeem to be ſtrangely infected with a ſort of Curioſity, like that of poor *Dinah*, to *go out and ſee* the Sons as well as *the Daughters of the Land* [l]; to ſee them in all Shapes and Attitudes, in all Guiſes and Diſguiſes, Habits, and no Habits; to ſee what their Behaviour would be in a State of Nature, free from the Reſtraints that Education, Cuſtom and Decency have lain them under. When this Humour prevails ſo ſtrongly among them, and the *Sichems* ſo much abound in this our Land, the Friends, Guardians, or Brothers of any Damſel, ſeem to have very little Reaſon to be amazed at the Conſequence, or to cry out as if it were ſome unexpected Diſaſter, *ſhould he deal with our Siſter as with an Harlot* [k]?

I don't mean however that Maſquerades are quite new among us, though they never were till now made a general Entertainment. And therefore if the learned Biſhop, who lately told his Audience, that *this Diverſion was brought among us by the Ambaſſador of a neighbouring Prince in a late Reign* [l], means, that it was then *firſt* brought among us, that this is one of the *various Engines of Vice contrived by* the preſent *corrupt Generation* [m], we muſt attribute the Miſtake to his haſty Zeal againſt thoſe dangerous Men, who by means of that ſingle Maſquerade intended to *enſlave us*; and who knows, but the *Meaſures* he ſpeaks of, were then, and there concerted for that Purpoſe? When ſuch Company meet, what mayn't we reaſonably ſuſpect to be carrying on? The Pope and the Devil were certainly there, and it is well known in the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*,

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[l] Gen. xxxiv. 1. [k] Ibib. *verſe* laſt.

[l] Biſhop of *London*'s Sermon to the Societies for Reformation of Manners. *p.* 20.

[m] Ibid. *p.* 18.

that

that theſe two ſeldom appear in Maſquerade without a *third* Perſon in Company.

As far back as *Edward* the Third's Time (and poſſibly there may be Inſtances long before) we are told of a Maſquerade or *Mumming*, made *by the Citizens for Diſport of the young Prince* Richard, *Son to the Black Prince* [n]. This indeed ſeems to be only an innocent *Chriſtmas* Gambol, without the leaſt view to intriguing, where a hundred and thirty Citizens went to Court maſqued, with great Shew and Finery, and after much Feaſting, Muſick and Dancing, they retired Home in good Order.

The like *Chriſtmas* Entertainment was made for *Henry* the Fourth at *Eltham*. *Twelve Aldermen and their Sons rode in a Mumming to the great Satisfaction of the Court* [o]. However, there is not yet any mention of their Wives and Daughters.

Harry the Eighth was himſelf a noted Maſquerader. It is plain Love Affairs had by this Time got a footing in them. Indeed the Maſquerade that was made for him and the King of *France* by *Anne Bolen* at *Calais* [p], had no other Effect (that we know of) than the haſtening an intended Marriage.

But we have yet more certain Authority, that before this, Wit and Gallantry had made a conſiderable Progreſs there. In the beginning of the ſame Reign, an Act of Parliament paſs'd to ſuppreſs them, which ſets forth, that 'Foraſmuch as lately within this Realm, di-'verſe Perſons have diſguiſed and apparelled them-'ſelves, and covered their Faces with Vizors or other 'other Things, in ſuch manner as they ſhould not be

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[n] *Stow*'s Survey of *London*, Vol. 1. p. 252. printed in 1720.
[o] Ibid.
[p] Lord *Herbert*'s Hiſt. of *Hen.* 8*th.*

'known

'known: And diverſe of them in a Company toge-
'ther, naming themſelves Mummers, have come to
'the dwelling Place of diverſe Men of Honour, and
'ſubſtantial Perſons, and ſo departed unknown: Where-
'upon Murders, Felony, Rape, and other great Hurts
'and Inconveniencies have afore-time grown, and
'hereafter be like to come by the Colour thereof, if
'the ſaid Order ſhould continue not reformed. Where-
'fore be it enacted, &c.

I don't pretend that they were yet in tolerable Perfection. We find the Ladies were ſomewhat coy; but I can aſſure the Reader, that after this I don't meet with one Inſtance of *a Rape* committed in them. All Arts and Inventions require Time for Improvement.

Polydor Vergil, who writ his Book *de Inventoribus rerum* a few Years after the paſſing this Act, has given us an Account of the Condition of Maſquerades in his own Country at this Time. *Noſtri morem induendi perſonas non uno vel altero die, nec ſacrorum cauſa, ſed turpi inſaniendi ſtudio, duos continuos menſes ante quadrageſimæ initium ſtolidé ſervant, ſub quibus, inveterata jam deliranda licentia, ſexcenta flagitia quotidie faciunt & illud impune, perinde quaſi eo modo, cuique liceat eſſe ſcelerato, nihilque maleficii credatur committi, ſi vera hominis facies non videatur, perinde ac non pateamus etiam Deo.* In the next Words he pays a Compliment to *Engliſhmen*, which even at that Time it is plain they had very little right to. *Una omnium regionum Anglia ejuſmodi perſonatas Belluas hactenus non videt, nec quidem vult videre; quando apud Anglos, in re hac præ aliis certé ſapientiores, Lex eſt, ut capitale ſit, ſi quis perſonas induerit* [y]. Mr. *Prynne* ſays [z], that *Polydor Vergil* means by this the Act of Parliament mentioned juſt now. If ſo, the

[y] L. 1. c. 2. p. 335 *and* 336.

[z] Hiſtrio-Maſtix, p. 494.

very

very Preamble to the Act might have informed him that theſe *perſonatæ Belluæ* had made their Appearance in *England* long before; and that therefore this ſingular Character for Wiſdom was very ill beſtowed upon us. Beſides, he miſtook the Puniſhment, which was not *Capital* by that Act (nor indeed by any Law whatever) but only three Months Impriſonment, and a Fine at the Diſcretion of the Juſtices.

The Maſquerades in *James* the Firſt's Time leave no room to ſuſpect there were any Rapes committed in them. Let the Reader take the Account of them from the Hiſtorian himſelf. Speaking of the Queen, he ſays, 'She was not without ſome Grandees to attend her for 'outward Glory; the Court being a continued Maska-'rado, where ſhe and her Ladies, like ſo many Sea-'Nymphs or Nereids appeared often in various Dreſſes, 'to the Raviſhment of the Beholders: The King him-'ſelf not being a little delighted with ſuch fluent Ele-'gancies, as made the Nights more glorious than the 'Day. But the Latitude that theſe highflying Fancies, 'and more ſpeaking Actions gave to the lower World, 'to judge and cenſure even the greateſt with Reproach-'es, ſhall not provoke me ſo much as to ſtain the in-'nocent Paper. I ſhall only ſay in general, that Prin-'ces, by how much they are greater than others, are 'look'd upon with a more ſevere Eye. If their Vir-'tues be not ſuitable to their Greatneſs, they loſe much 'of their Value: For it is too great an Allay to ſuch 'a Refinedneſs to fall under the common Cogni-'zance [a].

We have one Inſtance in the following Reign upon the Birth of the Duke of *York* by the four Inns of Court; An Entertainment of that Magnificence, that

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[a] *Wilſon's* Life of *James 1ſt.*

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we are told, it cost above 20,000 *l.* [b]; but this was little more than a Piece of Pageantry. Indeed the Names of the Persons [c] who had the Management of it, are enough to satisfy us of what kind it was.

In *Charles* the Second's Time they were much of the modern Turn; unlike them only in this one Circumstance, that the Historian seems to attribute them to *a great Dissolution of Morals in the Court* [d]. He gives the following Account of them. 'At this Time the Court 'fell into much Extravagance in Masquerading, both 'King and Queen, and all the Court, went about mask-'ed, and came into Houses unknown, and danced 'there with a great deal of wild Frolick. In all this 'People were so disguised, that without being on the 'Secret, none could distinguish them. They were car-'ried about in Hackney Chairs. Once the Queen's 'Chairmen, not knowing who she was, went from her, 'so she was alone, and was much disturbed, and came 'to *Whitehall* in a Hackney Coach: Some say it was 'a Cart.' This gave so much Scandal, that we are told in the next Words, *Buckingham* took the Advantage of her Behaviour, and 'proposed to the King, 'that he would give him Leave to steal her away, and 'send her to a Plantation, where she should be well 'and carefully look'd to, but never heard of more.' This was to give Occasion to a Divorce, but 'the King 'rejected it with Horror.' And the Queen being told of the *Indecency* of her Behaviour, thought it proper to give over such *wild Frolick*.

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[b] See a Description of it in *Whitlock*'s Memorials. It was afterwards repeated in the City.

[c] Mr. *Noy*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Hyde*, Mr. *Whitlock*, Sir *Edward Herbert*, Sir *John Finch*, &c.

[d] *Burnet*'s History of his own Times, *p.* 262.

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The Maſquerade in the late Queen's Time is freſh in every ones Memory. The Deſign of this Entertainment we are informed of by the worthy Biſhop mentioned *before*. *I cannot forbear to add* (ſays he) *that all* religious *Conſiderations apart, this is a Diverſion that no true* Engliſhman *ought to be fond of, when he remembers that it was brought among us by the Ambaſſador of a neighbouring Nation in the laſt Reign, while his Maſter was in Meaſures to* enſlave *us* [e]. A Paſſage full of curious Obſervation, were it proper at this Time to enlarge upon it. One thing however I can't avoid mentioning. It is to do Juſtice to the Memory of that excellent Queen, who, by thoſe who are not acquainted with the Biſhop's Duty and pious Regard for ſo ſteady a Promoter of Virtue and Religion, might be thought, from this Paſſage, to have encouraged or aſſiſted this *Engine of Vice and Profaneneſs* [f]. It was doubtleſs for want of Room in ſo ſhort a Diſcourſe, that the Biſhop had not informed his Audience, that upon the firſt Repreſentation of the Tendency of them, ſhe gave immediate Orders there ſhould be no more of them. It had been ſtrange indeed, had ſhe (*conſidering the Proneneſs of Mankind, to fall into the Diverſions and Manners of thoſe who are of a ſuperior Rank and Character* [g]) countenanced, if I may ſo ſay, any *ſuch fatal Snare*, any *looſe Aſſemblies*, any *pernicious Invention* that *intrenches Vice and Profaneneſs againſt all the Aſſaults and Impreſſions of Shame*, in which *Lewdneſs may be concerted, Luxury, Immodeſty and Extravagance may be committed in Word and Deed*; in ſhort, any thing *of ſuch terrible Conſequence to Virtue and good Manners* [h]. As the Voice of the People ſo generally concurred with her in the Choice of her Mini-

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[e] The Biſhop of *London*'s Sermon. *p.* 20.
[f] Ibid. *p.* 18. [g] Ibid. *p.* 19. [h] Ibid.

ſters, and the Approbation of their Conduct, ſhe could have no Occaſion to purſue the Advice recommended in *Lucan*, *Libertas ſcelerum eſt quæ regna inviſa tuetur*[1]. A ſort of Liberty People have often paid dear for in other Countries; for as the Biſhop ſays in the next Words to theſe quoted above, *There is not a more effectual Way to enſlave a People, than firſt to diſpirit them by Licentiouſneſs and Effeminacy.*

I ſhall only obſerve with relation to the preſent Maſquerades, that the *Scheme* lately ſet on Foot for their Improvement, by a Set of *gallant* Gentry among us, ſeems to have been wholly unneceſſary. The Pretence for it was, that though great *Immodeſty in Word and Deed might be committed* in them, and much *Lewdneſs concerted*[k]; yet it was not often that *here* Love-Affairs could be carried farther, that People's Minds only could be debauched in them; by which Means, excepting that they were frequented only by *Women of Honour*, they differed but little from the *Temples of Venus* at *Amſterdam*[l]. I ſhall not enquire at preſent whether all this be ſtrictly and univerſally true of them. But ſurely *the Times don't ſtand in need of ſuch a Scheme, nor ſuch Projectors* to haſten the Progreſs they have viſibly made already. The Matter is in very able Hands; and whatever fond Opinion theſe Gentry might entertain of their own Parts, perhaps we have not one *Engliſhman* among us equal to the Work. They need not deſpair but the preſent ſort of Maſquerades in a few Winters more (unleſs the Jealouſy of Husbands and Fathers ſhould unexpectedly interpoſe to put an end to them) will

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[1] L. 8.

[k] The Biſhop of *London*'s Sermon, p. 19.

[l] They are only Places to meet and bargain in, to make Appointments, in order to promote Interviews of greater Secrecy. *Fable of the Bees*, p. 96.

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bring about every thing to their Wiſhes. *The Worſhip of* Diana (in this Senſe too) is much *out of Faſhion* already [m]. To return.

It muſt be left with the Reader to judge, how far *tolerated Stews* (by what better Name ſoever Faſhion may dignify them) would *ſecure the Chaſtity of Women of Honour* [n].

But to go on. The Advocates for publick Stews ſeem to lay it down as an undeniable Truth, that all who are unmarried, muſt needs be guilty of this Vice; or at leaſt, as Mr. *Bayle* computes, that *out of a hundred you won't meet with one who is clear of it* [o]. An Aſſertion that ſhews as great an Ignorance of the World, as to ſay that all People are clear of it. If the Neceſſity for it were ſo great, why ſhould it not always be as common with unmarried Women as Men? If we are to believe Mr. *Bayle*, it ſhould be more ſo [p]. It will be ſaid perhaps, that it is the want of Opportunity in *them* that prevents it; and would not then the ſame want of Opportunity prevent it in Men? Or can any Thing furniſh either Sex ſo conveniently as *tolerated Stews*? This is therefore another Miſchief ariſing from them. Many a one, from too much Indolence, or too little Underſtanding, would not think of carrying on a tedious and difficult Intrigue with a modeſt Woman, who would yet be at the Pains of going to a certain Rendezvous of Debauchery. No doubt but the Youth in Time may receive Improvement in theſe Schools, till by Degrees he grows fit for more difficult Wickedneſs. And I believe very few Inſtances can be

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[m] P. 342. [n] P. 99.

[o] Out of a hundred Men, I queſtion whether you will find one, without Reproach upon this Account. *His Reflections occaſioned by the Comet*, &c. Sec. 162.

[p] It is very apparent that this Paſſion is more violent in Women than in Men. *Ibid.*

given, where modeſt Women have ever been debauched by Men, that were themſelves till then entirely innocent. Skill and Wickedneſs both come by Practice, there is no being great in either all at once.

As there are many who from an Indolence in their Nature would not be at any great Pains, or ſubmit to a tedious Aſſiduity, to compaſs the Ruin of Innocence, and to purchaſe the ſhort-lived Pleaſure ariſing from the Conqueſt of it; ſo there are vaſt Multitudes of others ſo taken up with the neceſſary Attendance upon their Buſineſs and Profeſſions, as not to have Time for it. But this convenient Inſtitution will remove all Difficulties, by charitably conforming to the Humours of the one, and the Occaſions of the other. So happily is it contrived, that the Inactivity and Lazineſs of Men, Qualities that ſtand in the Way to any eminent Degree of Goodneſs, ſhould, by means of this, be no Hindrance to their Proficiency in Wickedneſs! That the very Dulneſs of their Underſtandings, which incapacitates them from being greatly ſerviceable to Mankind, ſhould not prevent their being inſtrumental in the Work of a general Debauchery! That their Hurry of private Affairs, which allows them but little Time to concert Schemes for advancing Religion and Virtue in the World, or to ſeek Opportunities for employing their charitable Offices towards the Amendment of others, ſhould yet leave them room to practiſe and promote as much Lewdneſs as their Conſtitutions will give them leave! Here without Trouble, Contrivance or Delay, every one may be as wicked as he pleaſes. So effectually would theſe Temples of *Venus* prevent Whoring, and promote the Cauſe of Chaſtity!

But the Advocates for licenſed Stews ſeem to think the Chaſtity of the Men of ſo little Value, as not to be worth their's, or the publick Notice. On the other hand, the very Method laid down by them for guarding

the Virtue of Women, is by ſupplying the Men with the moſt convenient and conſtant Opportunities for Lewdneſs, as if the Chaſtity of one Sex were beſt ſecured by the greateſt Debauchery of the other. But they themſelves know better the natural Tendency of publick Stews; and whatever the avowed Pretence may be, the Means are not ſo diſproportioned to the End really deſigned by them. Shame or Modeſty in each Sex is the great Barrier that ſtands between them; when this is quite broken down on one Side, the better Half of the Difficulty is got over; for it is a greater Violence to Modeſty to ask, than to yield upon being ask'd.

How far Opportunity itſelf promotes all Degrees of this Vice, will appear too from Experience. I preſume it won't be denied, that People in the Country of all Ranks, generally ſpeaking, enjoy as much Health as the Inhabitants of this crowded City, and conſequently thoſe natural Deſires muſt be at leaſt as ſtrong in *them*, as in *theſe*. Neither will it I preſume be denied, that the Practice of Lewdneſs is much leſs frequent among all ſorts of People in the Country, than in Town. If it be ſaid that a Habit of this Vice once eſtabliſhed begets a Neceſſity for continuing it, even where there is a leſs Share of Health or natural Vigour, the Queſtion will recur, to what was that Habit owing? In the Country there are few of thoſe *Temples of Venus* [q], and yet *Raviſhing* is not *a common Crime there* [r].

Suppoſe now that the Author's Project were put in Execution, and extended every where (as ſure it ought to be, if it be ſo uſeful a one;) ſuppoſe that not only the larger *Towns* in the Country, but every *Pariſh* had one of thoſe *Temples of Venus* in them, to be licenſed every Year by the Juſtices, as Ale-Houſes are now:

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[q] P. 97. [r] P. 95.

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Can any one ſeriouſly think that ſuch a *Toleration* would promote the Cauſe of Chaſtity in either Sex? That it would *prevent* any *worſe Evil* that is now committed there? Any *Impurity of a more execrable Kind*? Or even *provide* better *for the Safety of Women of Honour*[f]? And yet as ludicrous as this Queſtion may appear, no Reaſon can be given why a Toleration of Stews in every Pariſh ſhould not promote the Cauſe of Chaſtity as effectually in *them*, as in the moſt populous City in the World. If theſe ſorts of Houſes in Town WERE *proſecuted with as much Rigour as the ſilly People* the Author mentions *would have it*, and as they certainly would be, if any ſuch were known in the Country, the Practice of Lewdneſs muſt needs be *more difficult*, and probably, upon that Account, leſs frequent. If half the Pains and Reſolution were ſhewn by Men in the ſame Rank and Station, in deſtroying and putting down Stews, that have lately been exerted in putting an end to Gaming-Houſes, in all Probability the Succeſs would be proportionably as great; and the Practice of this Vice be laid under almoſt as great Difficulties as the other. I ſay, by Men of the ſame Rank and Station; for it is not to be imagined, that a few reforming Conſtables, liable to be tempted by the loweſt Bribe, enconraged *only* by a Diſcourſe from the Pulpit once a Twelvemonth (though it were the beſt that Religion and good Senſe ever inſpired) are ſufficient to ſtem the Torrent of Vice and Debauchery that prevails in this Town. I ſhould be very loth to be thought to undervalue the Merit of theſe Gentlemen, who have ſo happily put a Check to that deſtructive Vice of Gaming, and for which their Country ſtands deeply indebted to them; or even to blame the leſs effectual Endeavours

[f] P. 98.

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of other Men to prevent the Growth of Debauchery among us: All I meant was, to ſhew, from the great Succeſs the former have met with, that the Prevention of Vice, at leaſt a greater Progreſs of it, is not ſo deſperate or romantick an Undertaking as ſome Men love to repreſent it, eſpecially if the Endeavours towards it were openly countenanced by Authority [t].

All the Pleas for the Neceſſity of publick Stews are reducible to this, that Men have natural Deſires which muſt be ſatisfied. But theſe Deſires being common to both Sexes, if they are irreſiſtible in the one, it is preſumed they are altogether as prevalent in the other [u]. And if ſo, I would deſire the Advocates for publick *Female* Stews to produce one Argument in their Favour, which is not equally ſtrong for the Toleration of MALE Stews; that is, why the Conveniency of *Women* of Faſhion, their Intereſt and Inclinations, ſhould not be conſulted as much in the Toleration of the one, as the Conveniency of *Gentlemen* in the Eſtabliſhment of the other; why a new Order of Lay *Monks* ſhould not be inſtituted as well as Lay *Nuns*, for the Service of each reſpective Sex, where Proſtitution inſtead of Chaſtity, ſhould be their Duty and Profeſſion [x]. Why, ſays the Author, *it is the Intereſt of the Society that Women ſhould linger, waſte and dye, rather than relieve*

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[t] *There is a remarkable Paſſage in Mr.* Bayle, *that is very ſtrong to this Purpoſe.* All Chriſtians are agreed that Uncleanneſs is forbid by the Law of God. And yet out of a hundred Men, I queſtion whether you will find one who is free from this Reproach. How happens this? Becauſe the Magiſtrate gives no Body any Trouble or Diſturbance upon this Account. *Mr. Bayle's Reflections, Sect.* 162.

[u] It is very apparent that this Paſſion is more violent in Women than in Men. *Mr. Bayle's Reflections. Sect.* 162.

[x] *Montaigne* in reckoning up the monſtrous Opinions and Practices in ſome Countries (upon the Plan of *Sextus Empiricus*) ſays, that in Fact *there is a Place where there are publick Brothels of Men.* Il en eſt, ou il ſe void des Bordeaux publics de Maſles. L. 1. c. 22.

themſelves

themſelves in an unlawful manner [y]. If this be intended as a Sneer upon the unreaſonable Cuſtom of the World for making this Difference (for the ingenious Author has ſuch a Way with him, that it is very hard to know, when he is in earneſt and when not; if this, I ſay, be his meaning) it is giving up the Point contended for. But if it is his ſerious Opinion, that *it is the Intereſt of the Society, that Women ſhould linger, waſte and dye*, &c. What in the Name of common Senſe ſhould hinder it from being the Intereſt of the Society, that the Men ſhould practiſe ſome Share of this Self-denial too? For the *ſame* Degree of Virtue or Self-denial it is not in their Power to practiſe; becauſe it is more in their Power to relieve themſelves by Marriage than Women, who by common Cuſtom are hindred from ſuch Relief, till they have withſtood a great deal of Invitation. If he ſays, that ſuch an Indulgence to unmarried Women would infect their Conduct afterwards; it muſt be allowed him it would certainly have this Effect; but then it would as certainly have this Effect upon the Behaviour of the Men too. This is therefore another Inconvenience ariſing from theſe publick Stews.

For beſides that they promote Adultery, by giving Opportunities for Men to frequent them after Marriage, their having ever frequented them while ſingle, has a laſting Influence upon their after Lives. If a Man has indulged his Luſt to ſuch a Degree as to weaken his natural Appetites, *Jealouſy* and all its curſed Train of Attendants (which there will be but too often juſt Occaſion for) will ſoon get hold of him. But though he ſhould meet with an uncommon Share of Virtue in a Wife, under ſtrong Temptations to the contrary, yet

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y *Fable of the Bees*, p. 152.

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the ill Opinion he brings with him of the Sex, contracted from an Experience of the bad Part of them, will raiſe Suſpicions from the ſlighteſt Circumſtances and moſt innocent Behaviour, and very often improve thoſe Suſpicions into poſitive Proof and Conviction. If on the other hand his Faculties remain in full Vigour, the Love of that Variety that has hitherto entertain'd his Senſes, muſt remain as ſtrong as ever; and this it is probable he will ſtill give Way to and indulge. But though he ſhould, from a Senſe of the many Inconveniencies that would attend the Purſuit of his Luſt, ever get the better of this vicious Inclination, yet the Conflict he muſt undergo in the Way to it, the very Struggle he will feel within himſelf, to get the entire Maſtery of a Paſſion he has received ſo much Pleaſure from, will too often grow into an Averſion towards the Cauſe that has produced ſo painful an Effect in him. And thus it won't be difficult to account for it, why ſo few of our *reformed* Debauchees (as they are called) enjoy much Happineſs in a married Life themſelves, or confer any great Portion of it upon their Wives. But this is a Truth that few of our gay tempered Ladies care to be convinced of, till Diſeaſes and Miſery have confirmed it to them.

When I ſay that Men will indulge themſelves in the ſame Variety provided their Faculties remain in Vigour, I don't mean that this is not very often the Caſe after they are weaken'd and deſtroyed. An Itch after Variety may haunt them like a Ghoſt, long after the true natural Appetite is dead and gone. Thus it is to be feared, many of our puny Men of Quality wander Abroad, when there would be no great Danger of Exceſs at Home, tho' their Conſtancy were ever ſo remarkable.

But to go on. However violent or irreſiſtible the Deſire may be that each Sex has to the other, it was given them by Nature for wiſe and neceſſary Purpoſes. And the Wiſdom and Policy of all Governments have fallen in with this natural Inclination, by giving all poſſible Encouragement to Marriage. But the Deſign of each would be in a great Meaſure diſappointed, if thoſe natural Deſires could be ſo commodiouſly ſatisfied another Way. It is only in this Senſe true then, that if Stews were openly encouraged, *honeſt Women* might go *unmoleſted* [z]. Unmoleſted indeed moſt of them would be for any honeſt Purpoſes: But whether ſuch a general Neglect of them, ſuch an *unmoleſted* State, would tend much to the Preſervation of their Chaſtity, muſt be left to the Reader's Sagacity to determine. Comparing this with what has been ſaid before, I am afraid it will appear but too probable, that our *tolerated Stews* (call them by what Name you will) would ſoon have a great Number of *Women of Honour* reſort to them. It would furniſh Ladies with ſome kind of Excuſe for going to Maſquerades, and frequenting ſome ſort of Aſſemblies.

But unmarried Women are not the only People that would ſuffer from theſe Stews. It would be impoſſible to provide againſt Husbands frequenting them; and as this would naturally occaſion, ſo it would in ſome Meaſure juſtify a Return of the ſame kind from their Wives.

Again. Political Writers ſeem all to agree, that Numbers of People increaſe a national Wealth; which is certainly true as long as there is any Room for improving their own Soil, or extending their Commerce to Advantage. But publick Stews greatly leſſen the Num-

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[z] P. 95.

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ber of Births; which is apparent as well from the Hindrance they give to Marriage, as from the Diſeaſes they occaſion, and the feeble Conſtitutions they entail upon the ſcanty Poſterity that is generally derived from ſuch debauched Parents.

We have hitherto conſidered what this Author has urged in Defence of tolerated Stews from the Nature and Tendency of them: But beſides all theſe good Reaſons in their Favour, he has the Authority of other Countries to countenance his Opinion.

In *Italy*, he ſays, *the Toleration of Strumpets is barefaced. At Venice and Naples Impurity is a kind of Merchandize and Traffick*, and *Courtezans at* Rome *compoſe a Body in the State*. And he is mightily pleaſed with their Policy at *Venice*, when in a Scarcity of this ſort of *Traffick*, they ſent for a large Cargo of Whores *from foreign Parts* [a]. [Here no doubt the Reader will obſerve that the Policy ſo much commended in this Syſtem of *ſevere and exalted Morality*, is more than a bare *Connivance* at Proſtitution [b].] *The Reaſon why ſo many good Politicians as theſe, tolerated lewd Houſes, is not*, he ſays, *their Irreligion, but to prevent a worſe Evil, an Impurity of a more execrable Kind, and to provide for the Safety of Women of Honour* [c]. It is hard to gueſs what ſort of Impurities he means; for if our Travellers thither are not in a general Confederacy to deceive us, the moſt vile and execrable Pieces of Wickedneſs are daily acted over in thoſe helliſh Aſſemblies. Their very Women ſerve for the moſt *unnatural* ſort of Luſt. Now inſtead of this, the Reader ſure might reaſonably expect, the Author ſhould juſtify the Policy he beſtows ſuch Encomiums upon, by ſhewing the good Effects theſe Stews have had upon the Morals of the People in *Italy*. He ſhould

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[a] P. 99. [b] P. 98. [c] Ibid.

have ſhewn, that *ſimple* Fornication was the greateſt Crime known there; that theſe *tolerated* Temples of *Venus* had baniſhed all groſſer and more execrable ſorts of Lewdneſs from the Country. It might ſurely be expected he ſhould ſay at leaſt, that Women of Honour might appear publickly unveiled and unmasked without any Attack upon their Virtue; and that Huſbands and Fathers were no longer in Pain for their Behaviour. But this is a Deſcription that *Italy* could not be known by. It is ſo far from being the Caſe in fact, that there is ſcarce a Country in the World where there are ſo many Inſtances of Adultery, though the natural Jealouſy of the Husband be very great, and the Practice rendred very unſafe and dangerous, by the bloody Reſentment of the injured Perſon, not only upon evident Proof, but the ſlighteſt Suſpicion; a Smile or a Look being thought a ſufficient Pretence for Aſſaſſination. I preſume it will appear more probable, that this greater Frequency of Adultery here than elſewhere, is owing to an open Encouragement of Stews, than that this Encouragement ſhould prevent a ſtill greater Progreſs of Lewdneſs, which there ſeems to be no room left for. All the Youth of the Nation receive, as it were, a Part of their Education in theſe *Temples*; and no wonder the Wife and Daughters ſhould not think there is much Harm in what young Maſter is always encouraged to practiſe. Thus Vice grows familiar to them from their Infancy; and where all the natural Horror of it is worn off ſo early, the Practice will ſo on ſucceed. If Girls ſet out with ſuch Principles, it muſt not be expected, that Marriage ſhould all of a ſudden give them better; eſpecially where it is ſo much a Cuſtom for Husbands to frequent Stews themſelves, and run into all kinds of Debauchery, as to leave their Wives the leaſt Share of their Converſation.

As the want of Opportunity makes the Practice of all

all ſorts of Lewdneſs leſs frequent in the Country than in Town, and as *England* in general, from the want of a publick Licence, and legal Encouragement of Stews, is not yet quite ſo remarkable for this ſort of Wickedneſs, as ſome of our Neighbours; ſo *Italy* from the contrary Policy, beſides an equal Share at leaſt of the common Degrees of this Vice, has the Infamy to be diſtinguiſhed for the groſſer Sorts of it in ſo remarkable a manner, that all unnatural ſorts of Luſt paſs with us under the Name of ITALIAN Vices. This is the Country, which this *Book of ſevere and exalted Morality* propoſes as an Example for the Imitation of *England*.

I would not be underſtood to mean that there never were any tolerated Stews in *England*. *Stow* [d] tells us of ſeveral Regulations concerning the Stews in *Southwark*, in an Act of Parliament that paſs'd at *Weſtminſter* the 8th of *Henry* IId. (in the Year 1162.) And *Daniel* in the Life of that King does ſay, that a Parliament was held at *Weſtminſter* about that Time, which others however think was only a Council of Biſhops [e], met about ſubjecting the Offences of the *Clergy* to the Cognizance and Puniſhment of the *Civil* Magiſtrate. But as no mention is made of theſe Regulations concerning Stews, nor indeed of any other Law that paſs'd there at that Time, either by *Spelman* or others who have collected the Laws before *Magna Charta*, it is more probable that theſe were only Conſtitutions relating to the Lordſhip of *Wincheſter*, and confirmed by the King [f]. This carries us back to within ſixty Years of the Time Marriage was prohibited to the Clergy. And as theſe very Regulations ſuppoſe the *Stews* to

[d] *Stow*'s Survey of *London*, Vol. 2. p. 7. printed in 1720.
[e] *Kennet*'s Hiſt. Vol. 1. p. 134.
[f] Vid. *a Paper in the* Philoſophical Tranſactions, *Jones*'s Abridgment, Vol. 2. p. 382.

have been ſubſiſting ſome Time before [g], and as Hiſtory (for our Records do not reach ſo far) have not made the leaſt mention of them before this (I ſay, comparing theſe Things together) it will appear very probable that the Stews owe their Riſe to this Injunction of Celibacy to the Clergy. This certainly furniſhed a more plauſible Excuſe for them, than their preſent Advocates can urge in their Behalf. They continued [h] (excepting a ſhort Interruption now and then from the Greatneſs of the Diſorders committed in them) till the 37th of *Henry* VIII. ſoon after the Liberty of Marriage was reſtored to the Clergy, when they were finally put an End to. And ſurely they can never gain a footing here again, but among the reſt of the Attendants upon Popery.

Agreeable to this was that Anſwer of the merry Mr. *Heywood* to Queen *Mary*, upon the Queen's telling him that *the Clergy muſt forego their Wives: Your Grace* (ſays he) *muſt allow them Lemons then, for the Clergy cannot live without Sawce* [i]; meaning, no doubt, the Neceſſity there would be of reviving the Stews, ſo lately put down by her Father, *Deman* being an old *Engliſh* Word for *a Prieſt's Harlot*.

To return to our Purpoſe. It is far from being true that theſe Stews did in fact *prevent* any *worſe Evil*, any *Impurity of a more execrable kind* [k]. On the other

[g] *The Expreſſion is*, according to the old Cuſtoms that had been there uſed Time out of Mind. *Indeed* Time out of Mind *in the Law Senſe at preſent reaches back to a fixt Period at a vaſt Diſtance. The meaning here is no more than a Time beyond* common *Memory; which will agree well enough to the Time Marriage was prohibited to the Clergy.*

[h] *There is a remarkable Record of them in* Richard IId's *Time, when they ſeem to have been in Danger of over-running the whole Borough. Item.* Suppli-ent les Co—es de la Burgh de Soutwerk que nulliez eſtewes foyent tenuz en le Burgh de Southwerk mes en le Co—e place pur ce ordeine. Le Roy le voet. *Rot. Parl.* 14. Rich. II. *nu.* 32.

[i] *Cambden's* Remains.

[k] Fable of the Bees, *p.* 98.

hand,

hand, Inſtances of the moſt abominable Sorts of Lewdneſs occur more frequently in Hiſtory during the Continuance of Stews, than ſince theſe Nurſeries of Debauchery have been put an end to. To return.

But of all the Countries in *Europe* where Proſtitution is encourag'd, by a ſort of Prejudice very natural, he can't help upon ſome Accounts giving the Preference to *Holland*. He is extreamly delighted with *the Temple of* Venus *at* Amſterdam, *where Women are hired as publickly as Horſes at a Livery Stable* [l]. And yet *the wary Magiſtrates*, by ſome wholeſome Severities upon *thoſe neceſſary Profligates, and their miſerable Keepers, preſerve themſelves in the good Opinion of the weaker ſort of People, who imagine that the Government is always endeavouring, though unable, to ſuppreſs what it actually tolerates* [m]. There is *Prudence and Oeconomy* [n], *Frugality and Policy to be ſeen in them* [o]. He beſtows ſeveral Pages in deſcribing them; deſcends to the *hard Hands and tawdry Dreſs* of the Damſels who ſupply them by Night, and can't even omit *the Wheelbarrows they carry Fruit in* by Day [p]. Beſides it ſhews Contrivance, that the Muſick in thoſe Temples of *Venus* is *perform'd by Organs* [q], not *out of Reſpect* (he would have you think) *to the Deity that is worſhipped in them* [r]. What Pity it is ſo fine a Deſcription, ſo many handſome Things ſaid of his Countrymen ſhould be thrown away upon them! It ſeems *the wiſe Rulers of that well ordered City* [s], from a thorough Senſe of the many Inconveniencies theſe tolerated Temples were attended with, have put an end to them ſome Time ago, and *ſent all* the Damſels and their Keepers *a packing* [t]. And

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[l] P. 95. [m] P. 98. [n] P. 96. [o] P. 97. [p] P. 96.

[q] The Reaſon why he prefers the Uſe of Organs *in Stews*, and expreſſes himſelf in ſuch Language, is eaſy to be gueſs'd at.

[r] P. 97. [s] P. 95. [t] P. 98.

if

if the common Accounts are true, his preſent Holineſs is in very much the ſame Way of Thinking, and is at this Time exerting his Authority in order to ſuppreſs them at *Rome*. By this Means the Curioſity of many of our hopeful Youth to examine the Furniture of theſe Temples has been diſappointed, a Curioſity that ſends many of them abroad, and fills up the greateſt Part of their Converſation after their return. However, our Author will have the Comfort to think, that though theſe Temples are no more, his Deſcription of them will live, that it *will pleaſe Men of any tolerable Taſte, and not be eaſily loſt* [u].

He ſays, *our Univerſities in* England *are much belyed if in ſome Colleges there was not a monthly Allowance* ad expurgandos renes [w]. That the Univerſities are *belyed*, has nothing remarkable in it. It is but their common Fate to be ſo, when they are talked of by ſuch as he is. A better Acquaintance with them would have prevented ſome other Errors in his Performance.

I am afraid it will be thought giving too much Countenance to ſo ill contrived a Piece of Calumny, to ſet about a ſerious Confutation of it. Perhaps the beſt Authority it has ever yet had, has been that of a Debauchee at a Tavern, as an Excuſe for his own Wickedneſs. I think it never ventured into Print till now; and *the Fable of the Bees* will add but little to the Credit of it. However, for the Satisfaction of all curious Readers, we do aſſure them, upon the Credit of thoſe who have examined the Statutes of thoſe Colleges in both Univerſities, which have at any Time been moſt ſuſpected for ſuch a Licence, that there is no Expreſſion of this Sort, nor any Thing equivalent to it, nor

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[u] P. 472. [w] P. 99.

any

any other that gives the leaſt Countenance to Lewdneſs; nor does there appear to be the leaſt Foundation to believe there ever was any ſuch. On the other hand, there are in thoſe very Colleges expreſs Statutes that puniſh Fornication with Expulſion.

Indeed there is a Paſſage in *Fuller*'s Hiſtory, that by falling into the Hands of ſome facetious Gentlemen, might poſſibly be improved into this Piece of Scandal upon the *Univerſities*. And if this Conjecture won't account for the Riſe of it, ſurely thoſe People, who ſpread it with ſo much Induſtry, will think themſelves obliged to produce ſome better and more certain Authority to vouch for it.

At the Diſſolution of religious Houſes in *England*, when the Zeal of the People encouraged every little idle Story to reproach them, when ſubterraneous Paſſages were diſcovered leading from Fryeries to Nunneries through Rocks, and under great Rivers; there went another Report yet *more improbable* (ſays *Fuller* [x]) *that Abbots made Proviſion for their Luſts on their Leaſes, enjoining their Tenants to furniſh them*, &c. And, he ſays, *a Reverend Divine* (a hot-brained, fanatick Preacher) Mr. *Stephen Marſhall* told him, he had *ſeen ſuch a Clauſe in a Leaſe of the Abby of* Eſſex, *where the Leſſee was enjoined to provide*, unam claram & lepidam puellam, ad purgandos Renes, Domini Abbatis. Now if we are to believe Mr. *Stephen Marſhall* did not contrive the whole Story, it was probably the Impoſition of ſome Wag upon him to try the Exceſs of his Credulity, which he afterwards gave out he had ſeen himſelf; for that he ever did ſee ſuch a Leaſe is highly improbable: And his Friend *Fuller* ſays at the ſame Time, he did not believe him. And indeed ſo remarkable a Leaſe pre-

[x] *Fuller*'s Church Hiſtory, *p.* 317, 318.

ſerved ſo late as *Stephen Marſhall's* Days, the Zeal of the Times againſt Popery would hardly have left to ſubſiſt upon ſuch ſlender Credit. This too ſeems ſtill more likely from the Jocoſeneſs of the Stile, for the Sake of which they were content to uſe ſo abſurd an Expreſſion as *purgandos Renes*.

But allowing, againſt all Probability, that *Stephen Marſhall* did ſee ſuch a Leaſe, though we ſhould ſuppoſe an ignorant Steward or Leaſe-drawer to believe *claram & lepidam puellam* to be of Uſe *ad purgandos Renes*, is it poſſible to imagine, that the Compilers of College Statutes ſhould ſtep out of the common Road, and talk in the Language of a Profeſſion, on Purpoſe to ſhew their Ignorance in it? For a ſmall Share of Knowledge in Anatomy would have told them that the *Kidneys* have no more to do in Venery, than the Guts or the Brains.

There are in each of the Univerſities a great many hundred Youth in the Health and Vigour of their Age, much the greater Part of them from ſeventeen to five and twenty; and perhaps there is not in the World any Place where this Vice is leſs practiſed. Indeed the Opportunities for it are very rare, and the Puniſhments very ſevere. But *the wiſe Rulers of thoſe well-ordered* Bodies [y] would not I preſume thank the Government, nor the Author, for giving them the Hint, if in the Scarcity of Whores there is there at preſent, they ſhould procure a freſh Cargo *from foreign Parts* [z] to ſupply their great Neceſſities. It would be difficult to perſuade them, that theſe Whores were ſent thither to ſerve the Cauſe of Chaſtity, or to prevent any greater Wickedneſs. For whatever he may have heard of the

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[y] P. 95. [z] P. 99.

Univerſities,

Universities, I must tell him, *Ravishing* is by no means a daily Practice among them. To return.

I have all along purposely avoided taking Notice of any other Inconveniencies occasioned by the licensing of publick Stews, than the Tendency of them to increase the Practice of Lewdness in all its Branches. The frequent Quarrels that must unavoidably happen there, the Murders that are often committed, and the many other scandalous Enormities, which always have been and will be the Consequence of this licensed Wickedness, would of themselves furnish sufficient Matter of Objection against them. But till some more clear-sighted Advocate for them rise up than has hitherto obliged the World with his Discoveries, one who *in the Chain of Causes can see farther*, and *in the Prospect of concatenated Events* can *enlarge his View* [a] to a greater Distance than the rest of Mankind, we may venture to rest the Merits of the Cause upon this one Point, whether publick *tolerated* Stews tend to promote the Cause of Lewdness or Chastity?

Perhaps it will be needless to shew, how far Adultery is prejudicial to Society, since the Author allows it, and makes it the Duty of the Magistrate to prevent it. It will be thought sufficient, if what has been said, proves that an *Allowance* of Fornication naturally promotes Adultery. But as there are others who won't think the Design of *the Fable* fully answered, unless it be shewn too, that Adultery is prejudicial; for the Sake of such, I shall just observe, that if the Happiness of a Community consists in the Happiness of the Individuals who compose it (as has been shewn already [b]) it will be sufficient to ask any married Couple, whether a bare

[a] P. 89.

[b] See p. 19. of *this Enquiry*.

Suſpicion of each others Adultery, is not enough to imbitter their private Lives, to alienate their Affections from one another; and in ſhort, to render that State that was intended for the Benefit of Mankind and the Support of Society, painful and miſerable. I believe very few have ſo ill a Taſte of Happineſs, as not to anſwer in the Affirmative. Nay, the Action itſelf would have this Effect, though there were an abſolute Security of Secrecy. Nature ſeems to have taken Care, that the mutual Love and Affection between Husband and Wife ſhould be owing to the mutual Aſſiſtance and Benefit they bring to each other. Now, whether this Benefit conſiſts in relieving our natural Neceſſities, or beſtowing any actual Pleaſure, it naturally creates in us a Love towards the Benefactor. Where both theſe concur, our Love or natural Gratitude is very ſtrong. But the ſatisfying theſe Deſires elſewhere, or receiving this Pleaſure from another Perſon, miſplaces the Affection that naturally ariſes from thence, and deſtroys that Love for the other, without the mutual Returns of which the State itſelf would be intolerable. Perhaps in common Caſes, the receiving Obligations from another, does not very ſenſibly or ſuddenly deſtroy a Senſe of Gratitude to a former Benefactor (which yet it may be is doubtful, eſpecially where the Obligations are of the ſame kind.) But Love admits of no Equality in the Objects of it. It is impoſſible to love two alike, or either of them with the ſame Ardor as if you loved only one. This indeed may now and then be miſtaken, or Love may be repreſented by only one Part of it, or by ſomewhat foreign to it. Love is a mix'd Paſſion. It is a Compoſition of Friendſhip and natural Deſire, or what, if the Reader would join no criminal Ideas to it, I ſhould chooſe to call *Luſt*. As the Proportion of the two Ingredients may vary with different Conſtitutions,

ſo they may be divided between two Objects, while neither of them is properly loved: As among Men one has more of your Friendſhip, while the other has the greater Share of your Eſteem. But without amuſing my ſelf or the Reader with ſuch Speculations, it is moſt certain, that as this mutual Benefit is the greateſt Tie married People have upon each other's Affections, ſo a Gratification of this Paſſion with one, will deſtroy it towards another. And to *guard* and preſerve this in its utmoſt Purity, that ſtrong, and otherwiſe unaccountable Paſſion of Jealouſy, is implanted in our Nature.

This laſt Conſideration is of itſelf a ſufficient Proof, how certainly ſuch Liberties deſtroy the conjugal Affection. That ſome Men, from a peeviſh Diſpoſition, ſhould vex and give themſelves Pain, for Accidents that really do them no Hurt or Damage, and which a wiſe Man would overlook, is eaſy to be accounted for. But that ſo violent a Senſe of Wrong ſhould run through the whole Species, that People ſhould put themſelves to Torture (and, if we are to judge by ſome Inſtances, as exquiſite a one as we are capable of enduring) from a mere imaginary Evil, from what does them no real Hurt or Injury; to ſuppoſe this, I ſay, is to make Nature to have delighted in our Miſery, to have wantonly ſported in her Works, and to have given us this Paſſion of Jealouſy (unlike all others) not only not for any ſerviceable Purpoſe, but to our extreme Pain and Torment. Jealouſy ſeems to be a Suſpicion or Fear, that the Perſon loved does or will beſtow a Part of his or her Affection upon another, which you deſire to engroſs wholly to your ſelf. If the Paſſion itſelf then be a reaſonable one, as certainly all our other Paſſions are, it is the fear of a *real* Evil, a *real* Loſs of Affection towards you, that Jealouſy conſiſts in. And this *real* Evil a Commerce with another will always occaſion.

But

But the good of the present Age must not be the only Object of our Care. Doubtless it is a Duty every one owes his Country, to convey down the Happiness he himself enjoys, *improved*, if possible, to those that come after him. And therefore, if married People were to indulge each other in a Licence of Adultery, besides the Inconveniencies mentioned already, it would be attended with the most pernicious Effects to their Country. It would introduce an Uncertainty of Offspring. Now if a Man once suspects the Children in his Family not to be his own, if he is uncertain whether Nature has given *him* a *particular* Interest in their Welfare, he can't be very solicitous either about their Education, or a Provision for them afterwards. In a Word, he must needs fail in that Duty which he owes both to them and to his Country, the making them happy *themselves*, and the Instruments of as much Happiness as possible to the *rest* of the World. And if there be any sort of Pleasure in *performing* these Duties to his Children, or in the Consciousness of *having* truly and faithfully perform'd them, it is utterly lost to Men in these Circumstances, and consequently their *present* Happiness is affected by it.

Such a Confusion of Offspring would by Degrees banish Marriage from a Society; and the Commerce between the Sexes would be reduced to a Level with that of Brutes [c]; which is what the Author of *the Fable* seems to labour to bring it to [d]. It will be difficult to find

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[c] *Venerem incertam rapientes more ferarum*, Hor. Sat. L. 1. 3.

[d] P. 153. The Curious, that are skill'd in anatomizing the invisible Part of Mankind, will observe, that the more sublime and exempt this Love is from all Thoughts of Sensuality, the more spurious it is, and the more it degenerates from its HONEST Original and primitive Simplicity. ——— By flattering our Pride and still encreasing the good Opinion we have of our selves on the one Hand; and inspiring us on the other with a superlative Dread and mortal Aversion against Shame, the artful Moralists have taught us chearfully to encounter our selves, and if not subdue, at least so to conceal

find any other Reaſon, but the Inconveniencies ariſing from hence, why Adultery in *a Wife* is more criminal or prejudicial than in a *Husband*.

It might be ſhewn in every other Inſtance, that the Conduct of private Men is always prejudicial to Society, in Proportion as it deviates from the Rules of Virtue. And without taking into the Account any particular Bleſſings from Heaven, as a Reward for Virtue and Goodneſs [e] (a Notion the Author is pleaſed to divert himſelf with [f]) upon the whole, it would appear after a full and impartial Examination, a POLITICAL TRUTH, *that Righteouſneſs exalteth a Nation* [g]; and that what *Tully* ſo often repeats is certainly true with Regard to a whole Society, *quicquid honeſtum, idem utile*. All this I ſay may be done without calling in the *Authority* of Revelation.

But ſurely it muſt ſeem ſtrange to a thinking Man, that in a Country where Chriſtianity is profeſſed, and has as yet the Eſtabliſhment of its Side, it ſhould be thought unfair or inſufficient to appeal to its Authority againſt an infamous Piece, writ not only in direct Contradiction to the Precepts of it, but on Purpoſe to overturn the firſt Rudiments of Virtue and Goodneſs, to encourage the Magiſtrate to a Toleration of the moſt open and bare-faced Wickedneſs, upon the con-

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ceal and diſguiſe our darling Paſſion *Luſt*, that we ſcarce know it, when we meet with it in our own Breaſts; Oh! the mighty Prize we have in view for all our Self-denial! Can any Man be ſo ſerious as to abſtain from Laughter, when he conſiders that for ſo much Deceit and Inſincerity practiſed upon our ſelves as well as others, we have no other Recompence than the vain Satisfaction of making our Species appear more exalted and remote from that of other Animals, than it really is; and we in our Conſciences know it to be?

[e] 1 Tim. iv. 8. *Godlineſs is profitable unto all Things, having Promiſe of the Life, that now is, and of that which is to come.*

[f] P. 250. Let them be baniſhed notwithſtanding, ſays a good Man: When every Strumpet is gone and the Land wholly freed from Lewdneſs, God Almighty will pour ſuch Bleſſings upon it as will vaſtly exceed the Profits that are now got by Harlots.

[g] Prov. xiv. 34.

fident

ſident Aſſertion that Vice is not only the Fountain of Wealth, but the ſolid Baſis upon which the very Being of Society ſubſiſts.

This ſcandalous Complaiſance, this diſingenuous Shame of being thought ever to look into theſe Writings, upon the Knowledge of which, and the Uſe we make of them, our eternal Welfare depends, it is the Buſineſs of ſuch Men to promote. And they have ſucceeded to that monſtrous Degree, that while they, even in their common Converſation, indulge themſelves in the open Ridicule of an eſtabliſhed Religion, and Compliment all that differ from them with the Names of Fool, Bigot, and Enthuſiaſt, for happening to believe as they were taught; while they, I ſay, are allowed all this without the leaſt Imputation of ill Manners; the poor Youth (for thoſe that are elder would ſurely be more cautious) who offers any Thing in Defence of a reviled Saviour, who ſhould profeſs his Belief of a Reſurrection to Happineſs, or mention his fear of Damnation as a Reaſon againſt the Commiſſion of the moſt ſcandalous Enormities, is to be overwhelmed with Noiſe, Impudence and Numbers; is to paſs for a raw, aukward, diſagreeable Fellow, and as one who, till he is better acquainted with the World, is altogether unfit for polite Companies. But if he ſhould chance to quote a Text of Scripture in his Behalf, though ever ſo beautiful in itſelf, or appoſite to his Purpoſe, the poor Man is ſunk paſt Recovery. Would not, I ſay, an unprejudiced Man wonder, by what Concurrence of ſtrange Accidents this Behaviour ſhould paſs upon the World, and not be reſented by every honeſt, good-natured, or well-bred Man? But theſe baſhful Gentry, whoſe Weakneſs has contributed more than any Thing to this tyrannical Cuſtom, would do well to remember, that as without a competent Share of Spirit and Reſolu-

tion

rage a Man is every Day in Danger of acting like a Raſcal, ſo the want of them in a Chriſtian is threatned with a moſt dreadful Sentence[h].

But let Cuſtom and Faſhion prevail which Way they will, let the mention of Scripture either in Diſcourſe or Writing be thought ever ſo ungraceful or improper, it is impoſſible to talk well and juſtly upon almoſt any Point of Morality, without borrowing Aſſiſtance from *thence*. It is by means of this, that what are called the Principles of natural Reaſon, appear *now* ſo plain and demonſtrable: And from hence it is that perhaps the worſt Syſtem of *Ethicks*, ever writ by a Chriſtian, and conformable to his Belief as ſuch, is a better one than *Tully*'s *Offices*. Where is that Chriſtian Philoſopher, who (like this learned and ſenſible Heathen) would not have been able to confute ſuch a Quibbler as *Carneades*, when he endeavoured to puzzle the Notions of Right and Wrong[i]? What ſhall we ſay then to a Writer who has left this ſure Guide to wander amidſt a ſenſeleſs Heap of Irreligion and Paradox?

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[h] Mark viii. 38. *Whoſoever therefore ſhall be aſhamed of me, and of my Words, in this adulterous and ſinful Generation, of him ſhall the Son of Man be aſhamed when he cometh in the Glory of his Father with the Holy Angels.* And Luk. ix. 26. and Mat. x. 33.

[i] Lactant. L. 5. 16. *Quæ Marcus Tullius non potuerit refellere.*

SECT. VII.

WHAT remains to be considered is the Essay on Charity Shools.

The first Design of these Schools seems to have been purely religious; the Good of the State being considered only as the natural Consequence of the other. But so reasonable an Institution meeting with very great Encouragement, the Persons who have the Care of them, have found means to add several political Uses to this religious Design. Besides teaching Children to read, and instructing them in the Principles of Religion, in most Places they are cloathed, and in some the Burden of their Maintenance is entirely taken off from their indigent Friends and the Publick. When they have spent Time enough for the little Qualifications of Reading, *&c.* and by the strictest Care are fixed in the Principles of Virtue and Religion, their future Welfare is as much as possible provided for, by placing them out to such honest Employments as the small Sums given with them will recommend them to. Towards the Expence of their Education and Maintenance, besides the generous Contributions of others, the Promoters of them have begun to erect Manufactures for their Employment at those Hours that can be spared from their other Instruction. In this they have succeeded so well, that in some of these Schools, notwithstanding their want of Years and Strength for any hard Labour, they are enabled to get their whole Livelihood.

lihood. By which means even those who are not bound Apprentices from thence, by being enured to Labour and Industry as well as Honesty, are put into a Way of maintaining themselves in the course of their Lives much better and sooner, than they could have done without this Care in their Education, in the idle and dissolute way of Life they might otherwise take up. So that this charitable Institution is become one of the most useful unexceptionable Projects for the Advancement, not only of Virtue and Religion, but the Trade and Wealth of the Kingdom, that this, or perhaps any better Age has produced.

But as the Advantages of them are extremely obvious, and they have had, as the Author tells us, so much *Labour and Eloquence laid out upon them, not by young Persons or poor Scholars of little Credit, but the most learned of our Prelates, and* who (he very well adds) at the same Time have been *the most eminent for Orthodoxy* [k]; all the Defence of them I shall attempt to make, is to consider what has been urged in this *Essay* against them.

As it contains above fourscore Pages, and is pompously brought into the World by an Author, who, if you will take his own Word for it, had with his former Performances had the Honour to *divert Persons of unquestionable good Sense* [l], (People of Quality as likely as any) we may reasonably think it contains the utmost Efforts of their Enemies, all that their Politicks, Religion, and Love for their Country can suggest in Opposition to them.

When this *Essay* is stripped of its Decorations, and reduced to a plain way of Reasoning, it will be found to contain very little more than this one Objection,

[k] P. 323 [l] P. 467.

'That the Managers of Charity-Schools place out the 'Children to profitable Employments, when they 'ought to be employed in Husbandry, or in other mean 'and laborious Work. For *all Trades and Handicrafts 'are overſtocked* [m], *and every where in the Country the 'Farmer wants Hands* [n].

If in anſwer to this he ſhould be told, that the more Money private Men get honeſtly, the more beneficial they are to the Publick; as great a Politician as he is, it would puzzle him to ſupport his Objection. *I dare affirm*, ſays Sir *William Petty* [o], *that if all the Husbandmen of* England, *who now earn but* 8 *d. a Day, or thereabouts, could become Tradeſmen and earn* 16 *d. that then it would be the Intereſt of* England *to throw up their Husbandry*, and buy their Corn, *&c.* of their Neighbours, as they do in ſome other Countries. But allowing for the preſent that Sir *William Petty* is miſtaken in this (though what he ſays is demonſtrably true) allowing that eight Pence got in Husbandry is more advantagious to the Nation, than ſixteen Pence got in Trade, how does this affect Charity Schools? The Children put out from Charity Schools in the Country are put to Country Buſineſs; the Children in *London* are bound out to thoſe *Sorts* of Buſineſs, which, if they followed any at all, it is probable they would follow otherwiſe. Does he think that the Truſtees of the Schools ſend for Children from Country Pariſhes to have the Credit of binding them to profitable Trades in *London*? They don't take Children from Husbandry to Trades, but from Idleneſs to Buſineſs. Their only View is to employ them in ſome uſeful Labour; many of whom it is feared would not apply to Buſineſs of themſelves, and

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[m] P. 344.
[n] P. 343.
[o] His Pol. Arithmetick, p. 193.

others,

others, by the indigent Circumſtances of their Friends, are in no Capacity for doing ſo; while thoſe who have the good Fortune to get over theſe Difficulties, could not find Employment ſo early as by the Help of theſe Charities they are enabled to do. What then is all this Clamour againſt the mowing to? Why, the Children are brought up to the Practice of Virtue and Religion, which, to one who places the publick Happineſs of a Society in the Vice and Wickedneſs of the Individuals, is indeed Objection enough; for where there are *no Thieves, nor Houſebreakers, Smiths will want Employments* [P]. But to go on with the Objection.

Does the Author really think the Managers of Charity Schools can turn the Scale of Employments from Husbandry to Trades, or from Trades to Husbandry, juſt as they pleaſe? This is complimenting them with a Power which the whole Legiſlature can't pretend to, unleſs they can change the Profit got by the Labour in one and the other. Trades and Employments will take their natural Courſe where Profit directs them. Men won't take to one ſort of Work, or place out their Children to it, when they can get more by another; unleſs their particular Diſpoſitions or Opportunities (which it is not in the Power of the Legiſlature to influence) direct them to a worſe Employment rather than a better.

But allowing they had this Power, inſtead of making his Complaint (of this diſproportionate want of Hands) an Objection againſt Charity Schools, he ought to have urged it as a Proof of the Uſefulneſs of the Inſtitution of them. For as it has been ſhewn already, that the Children bound out by

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[P] P. 82. I ſhall be asked what Benefit the Publick receives from Thieves and Houſebreakers.—If all People were ſtrictly honeſt, &c. half the Smiths in the Nation would want Employment.

this

this Charity in *London*, would not take to Country Business otherwise (except a few of the more courageous of them perhaps to the Highway) all he can prove from it is, that the Managers don't make all the Advantage of this Power which they might do. The Objection then should be stated thus. 'The Managers of Charity 'Schools (such is the Excellency of the Institution) 'have it in their Power to do eminent Service to their 'Country, by turning the Balance of Trades and Em-'ployments to that side where Hands are most wanted. 'But this Opportunity is neglected by the Managers, 'who suffer Trades and Employments to go on as they 'would otherwise.' Let him make more of it if he can. The Truth is, the Trustees act for the Children, as their Parents would or ought to act for them, by putting them to such Employments as they can best get a Maintenance by; and he that most consults the Interest of a Child in his Education, consults the Interest of the Publick the most.

When all Trades complain, says he, *and perhaps justly, that they are overstocked, you manifestly injure that Trade, to which you add one Member more than would flow from the Nature of Society* [q]. The View he must suppose the Managers have, is the Good of the Children; that without Regard to the Publick, they put them to the most profitable Trades they can. Now to any other than such a Politician as this, it would have been a Demonstration, that whatever Trades are most profitable are *not* overstocked; it is when they cease to be profitable, and then only, that they are overstocked. And as soon as any Trades appear to be overstocked by being found to be not so profitable, the Managers from the same Principle of Regard to the Children (or what he

[q] P. 343.

would

would chooſe to call *a petty Reverence for the Poor* [r], will certainly look out for Trades *more* profitable, and conſequently *not* overſtocked. It is thus the *Proportion as to Numbers in every Trade finds itſelf* [s], and this Proportion is neceſſarily conſulted by all Perſons, and in the very ſame Act in which they conſult the Intereſt of the Children put to thoſe Trades.

The Foundation he goes upon to prove this Conduct in the Managers to be prejudicial to the State, is, that *Abundance of hard and dirty Labour is to be done, and courſe Living to be complied with: Where*, ſays he, *ſhall we find a better Nurſery for theſe Neceſſities than the Children of the Poor* [t]? And *if ſuch People there muſt be* (ſpeaking of the Poor that fare hard) *as no great Nation can be happy without vaſt Numbers of them, would not a wiſe Legiſlature cultivate the Breed of them with all imaginable Care, and provide againſt their Scarcity, as he* [u] *would prevent the Scarcity of Proviſion itſelf? No Man would be poor and fatigue himſelf for a Livelihood, if he could help it* [w]. The Inference is, that the Legiſlature muſt take care they ſhould be *poor*, and ſo lay them under a Neceſſity of *fatiguing* themſelves; or, to uſe his own Expreſſion, *The Legiſlature muſt provide againſt a Scarcity of Poverty, as they would prevent Poverty it ſelf.* Why, what Harm will the *Scarcity* of Poverty do a Nation? It will make them *poor* by making Proviſions ſcarce: and conſequently a *Plenty* of Poverty may, for ought we know, make a Nation rich. Nay, the Author will prove it to you by a diſtinct Argument, as big with Demonſtration as the laſt. *For though the ſhort-ſighted Vulgar in the Chain of Cauſes ſeldom can ſee further than one Link; yet thoſe who can enlarge their*

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[r] P. 357. [s] P. 342. [t] P. 357.
[u] I ſuppoſe *he* is an *Erratum* of the Preſs for *they*.
[w] P. 327.

View,

View, and will give themſelves the Leiſure of gazing on the Proſpect of concatenated Events, may ſee Good *ſpring up and pullulate from* Evil, *as naturally as Chickens do from Eggs* [x]. In the ſame manner *Riches* may *pullulate* from *Poverty*, *Plenty* from *Luxury*, and *Chaſtity* be the natural Effect of *tolerated Stews*.

What a rare Emiſſary this would make for an overgrown *Stateſman*, who had *ſpent his Life in fatning himſelf with the Spoils of the Nation*? When he *had by pinching and plundering heaped up an immenſe Treaſure*, he would tell us, *it ought to fill every good Member of the Society with Joy to behold* (not *the uncommon Profuſeneſs of his Son* [y], for that is but a trifling Conſideration, but) what a noble Foundation he has laid for the future Wealth and Grandeur of his Country, by ſufficiently *providing againſt a Scarcity of Poverty* among his fellow Subjects! And indeed it is plain from *the Title* of his Book, he ſet out with a Reſolution to write a Panegyrick upon Men of Quality, and to prove that even their *private* Life has a Tendency to the *publick* Good.

That the Author is not injured in this Repreſentation of his Politicks, will appear from two or three other Paſſages, which at the ſame Time will give the Reader a better Inſight into the reſt of his State Opinions. *In a free Nation, where Slaves are not allowed of* (he ſeems to think it wrong that they are *not* allowed of) *the ſureſt Wealth conſiſts in a Multitude of laborious Poor*. And again, *To make the Society happy, and People eaſy under the meaneſt Circumſtances, it is requiſite that great Numbers of them ſhould be poor* [z]; and he has *wondered formerly, how an* Engliſhman, *that pretended to have the Honour and Glory as well as the Welfare of his Country*

[x] P. 89. [y] P. 104. [z] P. 328.

at

at Heart, could take delight in the Evening to hear an idle Tenant that owed him above a Year's Rent ridicule the French *for wearing wooden Shoes, when in the Morning he had had the Mortification of hearing the great King* William, *that ambitious Monarch* (who is this abuſive Writer talking of?)—*openly own to the World, and with Grief and Anger in his Looks, to complain of the exorbitant Power of* France [b]? So that becauſe his *ambitious* Majeſty (if it be ſafe to tranſcribe from him) was graciouſly pleaſed *in a Morning with Anger in his Looks to complain of the exorbitant Power* of a Prince that he had a perſonal Averſion to, no true *Engliſhman* ought to bear with the Inſolence of his ſawcy Tenant at Night, for ſhewing his Archneſs upon *wooden Shoes*. At this Diſtance of Time we are told the Revolution itſelf was brought about to reſcue us from *wooden Shoes*, and ſuch other Effects of arbitrary Power, which now (it ſeems) it is a Crime, for all but Gentlefolks to ridicule. But why is he ſo offended at the Landlord, who we are told felt a ſenſible Mortification only at hearing King *William*, with Grief and Anger in his Looks, complain of the exorbitant Power of *France*; why I ſay does he blame him for not checking the Inſolence of his Tenant, whoſe way of thinking rather fell in with the King's Meaſures? For in common Senſe, one would think that a general Averſion to *wooden Shoes* ſhould make People pay Taxes the more chearfully to keep wooden Shoes out of *England*, which no doubt the ſame People were told his Majeſty of *France* intended to make a Preſent of to this as well as ſome other neighbouring Nations [c]. No, ſays the Author,

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[b] P. 364.

[c] *In his Receipt to make Courage*, p. 232. Shew them that their Altars, their Poſſeſſions, Wives, Children, and every thing that is near and dear to them, is concern'd in the preſent Quarrel, or at leaſt may be influenced by it hereafter.

it was the Landlord's Duty, if he had *the Glory as well as the Welfare of his Country at Heart* [c], to reconcile his Tenants to *wooden Shoes*, and other Inſtances of *coarſe Living*; that they might ſave up the Remainder, and gladly offer it as an humble Tribute of their Duty, at the Feet of his *ambitious* Majeſty. For when a People wear *wooden Shoes*, or no Shoes under *one* Prince, or when their Liberties are precarious, no doubt they will contribute their Labour and Taxes chearfully, and fight moſt manfully to prevent a change of Government.

I have ſaid that the Author ſeems to lament the want of *Slaves*. Thoſe who examine into the real Opinions of the Party, will ſoon be convinced they have not Averſion to Slavery they would be thought to have. I don't mean that they have any Inclination to be Slaves themſelves; and how much ſoever Virtue ſuch a Principle *in itſelf* may ſuppoſe, it is not my deſign to rob them of it. But I think it is pretty plain they all want to be Tyrants in their Turn; that they would be content even with ſome ſhare of Oppreſſion from their Superiors, provided there is room for them to exerciſe the ſame Tyranny over thoſe whoſe Circumſtances have placed them in a Station below them. And indeed where there is a Slavery in any one Part, it is next to impoſſible but there ſhould be a Gradation of Slavery through the whole. Where the Commonalty are Slaves to the Gentry, the Gentry will be held in a proportionate Subordination to the Nobility or the Prince. The true Reaſon why ſome Gentlemen prefer a Republick to any other Form of Government, is only the greater Chance each Man has to ſhare in the *ſupreme* Power himſelf, while the Multitude would enjoy no more

[c] P. 364.

Liberty

Liberty than before. *Their* Condition would be juſt the ſame, excepting that the Number of theſe ſupreme Tyrants would be increaſed over them. So that the common Outcries of the Party for Liberty, which are deſign'd to catch the Ears of the People, and give good natured Men an Opinion of their Virtue and Moderation, don't proceed a Jot from their Love to Mankind, or a generous Inclination to ſee a People happy, but from thoſe very Principles they pretend to condemn. Mr. *Fletcher* of *Salton*, a noted Republican, has writ a Treatiſe to ſhew the great Uſefulneſs of *Slaves* [d], and to recommend the Conſideration of this Point to the *Scotch* Parliament, who we are told had made ſome Advances towards it [e]. And indeed, conſidering the Temper of that People, their Neighbours will think themſelves happy if they never introduce Slavery into any other Country but their own.

But to come nearer to the Point we ſet out with: This very Writer, this Author of *the Fable of the Bees*

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[d] *I have not room to give a particular Account of this Gentleman's Scheme: But it ſeems to be truly worthy of him and his Party. In the moſt eſſential things he would have the poor People to be free. Would the Reader gueſs what this Republican means by the moſt eſſential Things? Why, he ſays,* excepting that they ſhould poſſeſs nothing and might be ſold, *they might ſtill remain free, and live very comfortably. And what is it to be ſold? A Trifle he ſays, nothing* but an Alienation of their Service without their Conſent. *What he ſays in the Words juſt before to reconcile the People to his Slavery looks more like the Inſult of a haughty Tyrant to add to the Cruelty of his Power, than the ſerious Propoſal of a Member of* Parliament. Any Man, *ſays he,* ſhould be puniſhed who gives them the opprobrious Name of SLAVE.

[e] By an Act of Parliament in the Year 1579, any Subject of ſufficient Eſtate is allowed to take the Child of any Beggar, and educate him for his Service; which Child is obliged to ſerve ſuch a Maſter for a certain Term of Years; and that Term of Years extended by another Act made in the Year 1597 for Life. So that here is a great Advance towards my Propoſition; but either from ſome Miſtake (*ſays the honeſt Republican*) about Chriſtian or Civil Liberty, they did not proceed to conſider the Neceſſity of continuing that Service in the Children of ſuch Servants, and giving their Maſters a Power of alienating that Service to whom they ſhould think fit. *Fletch.*

has, in another ingenious Tract of his, writ a long Panegyrick upon the Conduct of *Lewis* XIV. particularly for his good Policy in extirpating the Proteſtants out of *France*, and from the Inſtance of that Kingdom, which he tells you *was in its moſt flouriſhing Condition, when the Country People were always poor* [f]; lays it down as a Piece of excellent Politicks, that, *where the Poor ſet a ſmall Value upon themſelves, and eſteem the better ſort far above their own Rank, it will follow they will work much cheaper, and be content to live much meaner than where they are ſo haughty* [g]: To which Condition conſequently a good Patriot ought to endeavour to bring his Country. You ſee his Opinion of the Uſefulneſs of Poverty and Slavery, is not any thing he has fallen into by chance, but appears wherever he has an Opportunity to ſhew it. But to return to his Objection.

Since then *Abundance of hard and dirty Labour is to be done, and coarſe Living is to be complied with*; and ſince we can no where *find a better Nurſery for theſe Neceſſities than the Children of the Poor, none certainly* being *nearer to it, or fitter for it* [h]; (that is, none being nearer to *coarſe Living*, or nearer to Poverty, than the *Poor*; this I ſay being ſo) he is afraid Charity Schools will deſtroy theſe *Nurſeries* of the Poor. For as the Children are placed out to better Employments than they ought to be, in a few Years there will be want of People *to do hard and dirty Labour*; there will be a want (ſuppoſe) of the Black-Guard, Scavengers, and Night-workers. But certainly there can be no want of theſe till there is a want of Poverty; for there always will be found Numbers enough that will ſubmit to the meaneſt Offices of Life, rather than ſubmit to the want

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[f] *The Virgin unmask'd*, p. 154.
[g] Ibid. p. 152.
[h] *Fable of the Bees* p. 357.

of Bread [h]. Therefore before this can be made an Objection againſt Charity Schools, it muſt be ſuppoſed that Charity Schools will entirely deſtroy the *Nurſeries* of the Poor, and make all People rich. So that all this is ultimately an Objection againſt Wealth, for till there is a general Wealth (at ſooneſt) there can be no ſuch general Grievance, which makes it ſtill plainer, that the Author's Politicks were fairly repreſented before [i].

But to ſilence this Objection effectually, I ſhall endeavour to ſhew, firſt, that what he grounds it upon is not true in fact; nor indeed, without ſuppoſing the greateſt Abſurdity, is it poſſible it ſhould be true. And 2dly, allowing it to be true in never ſo great a Degree, it could not produce the Effect he is afraid of.

As to the firſt, it has been ſhewn already, that the Managers of Charity Schools don't take Children from the Country, that would otherwiſe be employed in Husbandry, and place them out to Trades in *London*: And that they don't chooſe ſuch profitable Trades to place the Children to in *London*, is plain from hence. He won't deny, that the Promoters of Charity Schools in general, act upon a Preſumption that they are *uſeful*, and conſequently it is natural to imagine they would extend the Uſe of them as far as poſſible. Now as it is apparently true, that the better Trades theſe Children are put to, the more Money is required with them, ſo the placing them to ſuch creditable Callings would confine the Benefit of this Charity to a very ſmall Num-

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[h] P. 327. *The Author will confirm this himſelf. For* the abſolute Neceſſity all ſtand in for Victuals and Drink, and in cold Climates for Cloaths and Lodging, makes them ſubmit to any thing that can be bore with. *He carries the Matter yet farther.* The greateſt Hardſhips are look'd upon as ſolid Pleaſures when they keep a Man from ſtarving.*

[i] *See likewiſe* p. 327. *where he ſays,* if no Body did *want* no Body would work.

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ber, and ſo deſtroy the very Deſign the Promoters of it muſt be ſuppoſed to act upon. He allows himſelf elſewhere (for Contradiction is extremely familiar to him) that *the Governors of Charity Schools don't deliberate ſo much what Trade is the beſt, but what Tradeſmen they can get that will take the Boys with ſuch a Sum* [k]. It ſeems *Frugality* is what they chiefly aim at: And a little Enquiry will confirm it to him, that the Sums given in placing out the Children is never ſuch as would recommend them to any profitable Trade; however, the Hopes of their Sobriety, Honeſty and Induſtry may now and then ſupply the want of a larger Sum. In ſhort, he will find that the meaneſt Trades among us expect as much with a Child of the ſame Age, as is generally given with a Charity Boy. For as to the moſt ſordid nauſeous Offices of Life (let them be called Trades if he pleaſes) they are ſuch as very few can live by alone. He won't find many that are bound to the Trade of Shoe-cleaning, and ſcarce any that ſerve an Apprenticeſhip to the Myſtery of Night-working. Beſides, that there can never be a want of Hands in thoſe Employments where there is ſo little Skill or Money required to ſet up with. The Refuſe of other Trades, ſuch as are defective either in their Capacity or Fortune for better Buſineſs, will always, it is feared, furniſh a larger Supply for ſuch Offices than the Neceſſities of Mankind will ever require. *England* muſt indeed be the happieſt *Spot upon Earth* [l] before there can be a want of them. Nay, even allowing, 2dly, That this Charity was ever ſo laviſhly diſpoſed of, that all the Children were placed out to the moſt creditable Callings, that this Conduct of the Managers (or rather that ſome Miracle from Heaven) ſhould at once deſtroy the *Nur-*

[k] P. 343. [l] P. 369.

ſeries

ſeries of the Poor, and create a general Plenty throughout the Land, it could never occaſion a Scarcity of Hands for the meaneſt Employments in Life.

If Poverty implies a want of Neceſſaries for Subſtenance, it is indeed ſomewhat poſitive and abſolute. But this ſort of Poverty our Laws have ſtrictly provided againſt, and it is what the Objection ſuppoſes an entire Abſence of. When we talk of the *poor* People of *England*, we mean the People that live by doing *hard and dirty Labour*; and in this Senſe of the Word, *Poverty* is ſomewhat as much relative or comparative as Wealth is: And if ſo, tho' never ſo great an Addition were made to the Property of the People in general, yet as there would ſtill be different Degrees of Wealth; ſo in Compariſon to thoſe of better Fortune, ſome would ſtill be counted poor, or leſs rich; and all ſuch would continue to do the ſame Offices poor People do now. *No*, ſays the Author, *if no Body did want, no Body would work* [m]. If he means, if no Body did want *Bread*, no Body would work, it is falſe in fact. Every Day's Experience ſhews, that ſome People will labour as hard to improve their Income, or heap up Wealth, as others to earn their daily Bread, and will condeſcend to any Employments for this Purpoſe. Mens *Wants* are their Deſires. Till Bounds are ſet to *theſe*, *thoſe* are not ſatisfied. This always has been, and always will be the Temper of Mankind.

The only Effect then this greater Plenty would have, is, that People would be better paid for performing thoſe mean Offices than they are now, which does not affect the Welfare of the Publick one Way or other. When there is a Scarcity of Men in one Employment more than others, ſuch Work will grow dear. But

[m] P. 327.

even

this can never reach to any great Exceſs, becauſe ſuch Dearneſs will encourage others to take up the ſame Employment. By which Means the Price of the Labour will ſoon leſſen again. This will be the Caſe conſtantly and in all Places from the natural Courſe of Things, let the Scarcity of ſuch Labour ariſe from Plenty or any other Cauſe. And in this View again it appears, that *the Proportion as to Numbers in every Trade finds itſelf* [n].

Suppoſe for Inſtance there was a Scarcity of Chimney-Sweepers; the Price of their Work muſt immediately riſe, and the Buſineſs itſelf would in ſome Proportion become creditable as it grew profitable. For where there is no Diſhoneſty in a Profeſſion (and too often where there is) Reputation and Reſpect will follow Profit at no great Diſtance. Others would ſoon take up the ſame Employment, till Numbers ſunk the Value of it to the old Standard.

To apply the ſame way of Reaſoning to the other Part of the Objection. As *the Proportion of Numbers in* different *Trades finds itſelf*, ſo will the Proportion of Numbers between Handicrafts and Husbandry. That is, where there is a Scarcity of Hands in one, and the Labour by that Means grows dear, it will be an Encouragement to the others, who find themſelves crowded, to leave this and take to that; at leaſt it will be a Reaſon for Parents and other Truſtees for Children to bind them at firſt where there is this Scarcity, and ſo by conſulting the Intereſt of thoſe under their Care, they muſt contribute to the ſupplying the Defect of Numbers complained of in the others. The Scarcity in one is a kind of natural Drain for the Superfluities of the reſt; or they are like a Pair of Scales, that gently move

[n] P. 342.

up

up and down, and are never far from an exact Balance. So little is it in the Power of the Legiſlature themſelves, much leſs the Managers of Charity Schools, to turn this Balance as they pleaſe.

This is not only true from the Reaſon of the Caſe, but confirmed likewiſe by Experience. A little Enquiry would convince the Reader, with how little Truth the Author affirmed, that *all Trades and Handicrafts are overſtocked* [o], *and every where in the Country the Farmer wants Hands* [p]. Perhaps there is not one Handicraft in *London*, of thoſe eſpecially that miniſter to Luxury, but where the Maſter complains of a Scarcity of Hands. I ſhall trouble the Reader but with one Inſtance. Let it be in that Trade that the Author particularly refers to himſelf. Such, he ſays, is *the unreaſonable Vein of petty Reverence for the Poor that runs through this Nation*, that *Journeymen Taylors go to Law with their Maſters, and are obſtinate in a wrong Cauſe, yet they muſt be pitied* [q]. Whether the Journeymen were in the wrong or no, is not very material: But one may give a ſhrewd gueſs it is more than he knows; unleſs from the ſame Vein of Liberty that runs through his whole Treatiſe, he concludes them to be in the wrong, becauſe they are *Servants*, and were contending with their *Maſters*. The Maſters themſelves however were not ſo ſure of the Journeymens being in the wrong as to venture their Cauſe in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; But thought the ſafeſt Way of proving them ſo, was to call for an Act of Power, and ſo put an end to the Diſpute. This it ſeems they had Intereſt enough to procure. An Act paſs'd that reduced the Journeymens Wages, and fix'd it at one Price, let the different Skill and Abilities of the Workmen be what they would: And in order to have it punc-

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[o] P. 344. [p] P. 345. [q] P. 357.

tually obeyed, the Maſters were laid under Penalties if they ever gave more. The Conſequence of this is, that at preſent perhaps there is not one Maſter Taylor within the Bills of Mortality, who does not every Day run the riſque of the Penalty (or ſome Way or other evade it) by giving more Wages than he ever did before the paſſing the Act[r]. Does this happen becauſe Handicrafts are overſtocked? And is it not by Miſtake that he ſays in the next Words, that *murmuring* Weavers *muſt be relieved, and have fifty ſilly Things done to humour them*?

Nor is it true that the Farmer wants Hands ſo much more than the Tradeſman. Let him go into any Country Pariſh, and ask if the Farmers are willing to take a healthy Boy at nine or ten Years old for the ſake of his Service the next fourteen Years? If he finds they refuſe this without the Advance of ſome Money to them beſides; if they conſider the taking even *ſuch* Pariſh Children as a Burthen, then I preſume it is a Proof that there is not this diſproportionate Scarcity of Hands. I don't mean that Hands are not *at all* wanted in Husbandry. Perhaps they are wanted here as much as in Trades; and the Reaſon of this Scarcity in both ſhall be taken Notice of by and by. But it is hoped it appears by this Time that it is not owing to *Charity Schools*.

What the Author of the *Eſſay* has hitherto inſiſted upon is, that Charity Schools deſtroy the *Nurſeries for the Neceſſities of Life*, or the Nurſeries of the Poor (which it has been proved it is impoſſible ſhould happen, till all People become rich, if it happens at all) and deſtroying theſe *Nurſeries* of Poor, he thinks, muſt make the Nation poor, by making Proviſions ſcarce. But I

[r] Excepting only for that ſhort Space of Time, in which, from an imaginary Plenty of Money, the Value of Labour as well as of every Thing elſe was over-rated.

would

would not be underſtood from hence that he has aſſerted this throughout the whole Eſſay. For this would be but *one* Abſurdity; and though a pretty great one, would ſhew however ſome Conſiſtency in Blunder. But he has a peculiar Art to be very inconſiſtent, to ſhift Sides in his Objections, to aſſert direct Contraries, and ſtill be as wrong as ever. He has found out that the Governors of Charity Schools, though they intend to make all the Children rich by putting them to profitable Callings, yet they labour under that ſtrange Fatality, that almoſt all the Maſters they put them to, take the Money and then leave the Prentices in the Lurch; *by which it ſeems as if we intended nothing more than to have a perpetual Nurſery for Charity Schools* [t]. 'Charity 'Schools are very miſchievous, becauſe they diſappoint 'the Care of the Legiſlature, whoſe Wiſdom is ſeen in 'cultivating the Breed of Poor, and providing againſt the 'Scarcity of them; without a Plenty of which Proviſi-'ons would grow ſcarce [u]. For Charity Schools deprive 'us of the Nurſery for the Neceſſities of Life [v]; that is, 'the Children of the Poor. Again 2dly, Charity Schools 'are very miſchievous, becauſe they create *a perpetual 'Nurſery for Charity Schools* [w]; that is, they create a per-'petual Nurſery of Poor.

One Word more before we leave this Objection; it is to give an Inſtance of the Author's Candor in his Account of theſe Charities. His Turn here is to ſhew, that Charity Schools create *Poverty*. It is no wonder that the Maſters leave their Prentices in the Lurch, for

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[t] P. 343, *and* 344.

[u] P. 327. If ſuch People there muſt be, as no great Nation can be happy without vaſt Numbers of them, would not a wiſe Legiſlature cultivate the Breed of them with all imaginable Care, and provide againſt their Scarcity as he would prevent the Scarcity of Proviſion itſelf? No Man would be poor and fatigue himſelf for a Livelihood if he could help it,——if no Body did want no Body would work.

[v] P. 357. [w] P. 344.

few Men of Subſtance and Experience will have any thing to do with theſe Children [x]. An Inſinuation ſo ſevere and ill-natured ſure muſt have been grounded upon long Experience and Obſervation. He muſt be poſitive that Tradeſmen generally inſiſt upon more Money with a Charity Child, than they would be content to receive with another. And ſuch Conviction no doubt he has met with, which made him complain juſt before, that truly now a-days, *when a Boy or a Girl are wanted for any ſmall Service* (and in ſuch only we may well think it is that they are employed) *we reckon it our Duty to employ Charity Children before any other.*

Since then a general Plenty, be it ever ſo great, could not occaſion a Scarcity of Hands for the moſt dirty and laborious Work, it is leſs to be imagined, that any Pretence to a Superiority of Underſtanding from the little low Accompliſhments of Reading and Writing can be attended with ſuch a formidable Effect. If an *actual* Improvement of every Man's Fortune could not make them deſpiſe ſuch Labour, Qualifications that only put them into a *Capacity*, that only give them a *Chance* for this Improvement of their Fortune, could never occaſion ſo extraordinary a Pride. If Charity Children can find Employment more beneficial to themſelves by the Help of ſuch Education, than they could otherwiſe, the Publick likewiſe receive a Benefit by their Education. If there is no room for this, and better Employments are full, Neceſſity would ſoon reconcile them to the hardeſt Labour. Beſides it ſhould be remembred, that that ſort of Pride which ſhews itſelf in ſcorning the low Employments of Life, ariſes only from the Experience of a better Way of Living, which can't be the Caſe here. All that are placed out from theſe

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[x] P. 343.

Schools,

Schools, or otherwiſe diſpoſe of themſelves from thence, afford Notice enough to them that ſtay behind, of what kind of Labour they are to expect: So that a thorough Conviction, that theſe Children are intended for the lower Stations of Life, grows up with their earlieſt Education. That fond Opinion that People entertain of their Fitneſs for better Employments than they can get into, is the mere Effect of miſtaken Prudence; the Experience of which, or a continued Failure of Succeſs, muſt put them upon other Meaſures.

In ſhort, Reading and Writing are uſeful Qualifications, or they are not. If they are, thoſe who poſſeſs them, may as reaſonably ſet a greater Price upon their Time and Labour on Account of that greater Uſefulneſs, as others who are poſſeſſed of better Skill, or better Strength, or any Quality which they hold in a greater Degree than others. If Reading and Writing are found to be quite *uſeleſs*, or but very little uſeful; if I ſay they find the World entertains this low Opinion of their Value, why ſhould we think that their own Senſe of theſe Qualifications ſhould not be influenced by the Opinion the reſt of the World has of them? Why muſt we be ſo perverſe in the Caſe of Charity Children, as to think that *their* Opinion of themſelves (above all others) muſt run counter to Truth, Reaſon, and the common Sentiments of Mankind? But Reading and Writing are certainly of uſe in every Station of Life, and as the Learning of them does not prevent the Attainment of other more uſeful Qualities, what Reaſon can be urged againſt it, that won't prove as ſtrongly againſt the Acquiſition of any other Sort or Degree of Knowledge or Skill? Nay, that won't prove as much againſt the Benefit of our natural Endowments, or the Uſe of two Eyes, or two Hands. But it is vain to think of puſhing ſuch a Writer as he is, to

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any Abſurdity that he won't avow. Two Eyes and two Hands *are* prejudicial; and ſo are all the *Gifts and Munificence of Heaven, and all the Bounties and Benefits of Nature.* They are *the Neceſſities, the Vices, the* IMPERFECTIONS *of Man*, that are the great Springs of publick Happineſs, and *contain in them the Seeds of all Arts, Induſtry and Labour*[y]. But it is the Nature of *Bleſſings* to be always *prejudicial*[z].

But ſuppoſing what has hitherto been ſaid upon this Head, to be inconcluſive; ſuppoſing that to be able to read and write ſhould occaſion ſo extraordinary a Pride, as to make People chooſe to continue idle and run a Hazard of ſtarving, rather than work and eat; yet as this can only ariſe from a Compariſon of themſelves with others who want thoſe Accompliſhments, it can laſt no longer than there is room for that Compariſon. But it is notorious even at preſent, that Reading and Writing are grown too common to leave much room for any ſuch ridiculous Pride. What then will be the Caſe in another Age, if Charity Schools ſhould make a proportionable Progreſs? Therefore if we ſhould allow ever ſo much Weight in this Objection, and Charity Schools from other Conſiderations can be ſhewn to be uſeful, it can't be a Reaſon for the *aboliſhing* of them, but rather for the making them *univerſal*. For when *all*, or the *Generality* of the People are poſſeſſed of theſe Qualifications, it will be much the ſame thing in the preſent Caſe, as if *none* at all had them. Now as it is preſumed the Author of the *Eſſay*, and his Friends, have no great Hopes ever to ſee them utterly *aboliſhed*, the next prudent thing they can do, if they would act conſiſtently, is to promote them, and make them as

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[y] P. 424.

[z] Bleſſings prejudicial. *See the Index under the Word* Bleſſings.

extenſive

extenſive as poſſible. The Labours of this Writer may have gone a great Way towards putting an end to them, but yet if he ſhould be able *utterly* to *extirpate* them, how does he know but Charity Children may always *continue* by ſuch another Trick as the *Hugonets* do in in *France*[a]?

But beſides that Vanity and Pride are the natural Effects of Knowledge (which ſurely are often owing to another Cauſe [b]) he has other Reaſons againſt it. I don't mean the *knowing* only how to read and write, but *Knowledge* in general. Charity Schools are very miſchievous, by making the People more wiſe and knowing, than is conſiſtent either with the Good of the State or Religion. He had before made *Ignorance, Folly, and Credulity, neceſſary Ingredients in the Mixture of Society* [c]. And in the *Eſſay* againſt Charity Schools, he ſays, *To make the Society happy, and People eaſy under the meaneſt Circumſtances* (ſurely he means under *Slavery*) *it is neceſſary that great Numbers ſhould be ignorant as well as poor* [d]. And *Great Britain* at this Time *wants Ignorance to be happy* [e]. *And ſhould a Horſe know as much as a Man, he ſhould not deſire to be his Rider* [f]. Inſinuations of too dangerous a Nature to bear being examined! As to Religion, he ſays, *the moſt knowing and polite Part of a Nation have every where the leaſt Share of it*, and *Ignorance is, to a Proverb, counted to be the Mother of Devotion* [g]. It is not to be expected

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[a] It is very much owing to the great Number of *Hugonots* that have *always* been in *France*, ſince the late *utter* Extirpation of them, that that Kingdom, *&c.* p. 64. *1ſt. Edit.* p. 93. 2d and 3d *Edit.*

[b] My Vanity I could never conquer, ſo well as I could wiſh; and I am too proud to commit Crimes, *Fab. of the Bees*, p. 472. *And again, we are told, that the* Spaniards, from a knowing, acute and rich Nation, *are now become* a ſenſeleſs, ſlow, proud and beggarly People, *p.* 214, *and* 215.

[c] *See the* Index *under the Word* Ignorance, *and p.* 106.

[d] P. 328.

[e] *See the* Index *under the Word* Ignorance, *and p.* 370.

[f] P. 331. [g] P. 304.

that

that Religion ſhould receive better Uſage at his Hands, when the civil Government itſelf cannot ſcape his Abuſe.

But inſtead of entring into a particular Examination of the Importance of what he has offered in favour of Ignorance, it will be ſufficient to offer ſome Reaſons for the Uſefulneſs of Knowledge, which will ſerve for a Balance on the other Side.

In the firſt Place it made the moſt conſiderable Argument againſt the *Schiſm* Bill; that ſort of Knowledge particularly that is taught in Charity Schools [h].

But as appealing to the Authority of eminent Men to prove the Uſefulneſs of *Knowledge* would look as much like a Ridicule upon them, as to quote their Opinion to prove the Uſefulneſs of *Wealth* (which the Author here puts upon the ſame Foot [i]) and as it is feared he is not eaſy to be convinced that his Opinions are wrong, from being ſhewn that they have a wicked Tendency (theſe things I ſay conſidered) I ſhall have Recourſe to other Arguments to prove the Uſefulneſs of Knowledge, the Force of which one may venture to ſay it won't be eaſy to withſtand. As firſt, 'The 'more our Knowledge is enlarged, the more will our 'Wants be multiplied, and the more our Wants and 'Neceſſities are multiplied, the greater Variety of 'Trades and Employments are required to ſupply them [k];

[h] That the Bill tended to introduce *Ignorance*, and its inſeparable Attendants, *Superſtition* and *Irreligion*; that in many Country Towns, Reading and Writing were chiefly ſupported by Diſſenters, not only for the Benefit and Inſtruction of their own Children, but likewiſe of thoſe of the poor Churchmen: So that the ſuppreſſing theſe Schools would in ſome Places ſuppreſs the reading of the Holy Scriptures. Lord *Hallifax*'s Speech.

[i] P. 328. It is requiſite that great Numbers of them ſhould be ignorant as well as poor.

[k] P. 424, 425. Whilſt we are employed in ſupplying the infinite Variety of our Wants, which will ever be multiplied as our Knowledge is enlarged, and our Deſires encreaſe. *And* p. 328. Knowledge both enlarges and multiplies our Deſires. *And* p. 467. From thoſe very Neceſſities and nothing elſe, ariſe all Trades and Employments.

' and the greater Variety of Trade and Manufactures, ' the more eaſily a Society may be rendered a rich, po- ' tent, and flouriſhing People [l].' For the Proof of the ſeveral Parts of this Argument I would recommend the Reader to the Pages referred to underneath, and be excuſed the Trouble of proving them my ſelf.

Another Argument may be drawn from the Authority of a Book, that won't ſuffer by a Quotation of it, for this or any other Purpoſe. What I mean is, *Free Thoughts on Religion, the Church, and national Happineſs*, by B. M. a Piece referred to once or twice before. I am very little concerned what Opinion the Reader is pleaſed to entertain of theſe *Free Thoughts*, ſince in the preſent Queſtion it muſt be allowed to be more than equal to all other Authorities put together.

To ſhew the temporal Conveniencies of *Knowledge*, the Author ſays, *that Prieſt-craft, that Source of all human Miſery, is the Offspring of Ignorance.* In how many well choſen Inſtances does he make appear what he promiſed in the Preface, *Their* (the Clergy's) *Zeal and Inveteracy againſt human Learning, in order to breed Ignorance and Superſtition* [m], particularly their *deſtroying of Pictures and mutilating of Statues* [n]. And again; *It is the common Opinion, that the Wars and Devaſtations, occaſioned by the frequent Irruptions of the* Goths *and* Vandals, *introduced Barbariſm into* Italy, *and were the only Cauſe of that profound Ignorance that ſo univerſally overſpread the Empire for ſeveral Ages: But this is wronging the Clergy, who thoroughly underſtanding their Intereſt aſſiſted the Growth of it with ſo much Applica-*

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[l] P. 425. The greater the Variety of Trade and Manufactures, the greater Number may be contained in a Society, &c. and the more they may be rendred a rich, potent and flouriſhing People.

[m] Preface to the Free Thoughts, p. 7.

[n] P. Ibid. p. 151.

tion. For *Knowledge is the Bane of Prieſt-craft* [o]. To ſhew the ſpiritual Miſchiefs of Ignorance, how plainly has the ſame Author proved, that the Vulgar's *Incapacity hinders them from being affected with true Holineſs and Spirituality* [p]? How handſomely does he lament, that *few have Leiſure and Ability both to read and examine the Scriptures, as they ought, for the thorough underſtanding of them*? Indeed the next Words, for want of proper Caution, have carried the Complaint ſomewhat too far. It looks more like an Opinion of the Conclave at *Rome*, or a Reſolution of the Council of *Trent*, than like the Sentiments of a *Free-Thinker on Religion* [q]; that *all have not Knowledge ſufficient to work out their own Salvation* [r]. Now if the want of this Knowledge in the Vulgar be of ſuch *damnable* Conſequence, the ſupplying them with it muſt in Proportion be a Benefit; and therefore this Writer ſure muſt be a Friend to Charity Schools. He won't pretend to ſay this want of Knowledge the Vulgar labour under, this want of *Ability to read and underſtand the Scriptures*, is a Reaſon why the Clergy ſhould take the Scriptures and other Books out of their Hands, as being dangerous for the Vulgar to meddle with. It can't be in this Senſe that he intended what was quoted from him juſt now; nor can he hint at ſuch a Thing in the Words that follow, *No Set of Men are more abſolutely neceſſary than ſpiritual Guides, to lead us in the difficult Path of Virtue, and ſhew us the Way to eternal Happineſs* [s]: Becauſe this, I am afraid, would be to countenance Prieſt-craft in a very great Degree; a Charge of all others he pretends to deſerve the leaſt. But ſtrange things of this

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[o] P. 150. *and* 151.
[p] Pref. p. 6.
[q] Free Thoughts on Religion, &c.
[r] P. 259.
[s] Ibid.

kind

kind have happened. *The infamous and execrable* Vanini [t], who we are told, *died a Martyr for Atheiſm* [u], writ a Defence of the Council of *Trent*; and if you will take his own Word for it, had ſome Thoughts of dying a Martyr for *Church Authority* here in *London* [w], though he certainly dreamt the whole Tranſaction, then waked in a Fright, and gave the World an Account of it.

The Reader is deſired to compare theſe Paſſages which prove the temporal as well as ſpiritual Inconveniencies of Ignorance among the Vulgar, with what is cited before from the *Eſſay* againſt Charity Schools; by which we doubt not it will appear true (what we promiſed to ſhew juſt now) that the Author of *the Fable* has been effectually demoliſhed by his Friend the Author of *the Free-Thoughts*; which indeed is the leſs ſtrange, as he has the Misfortune very often to fall foul even of *himſelf*.

After theſe Proofs of the Uſefulneſs of Knowledge, who would expect to find ſo much of the *Eſſay* taken up in abuſing the Clergy, for promoting theſe Seminaries of Knowledge; that Sort eſpecially, the want of which, the Author of the *Free Thoughts* has ſo pathetically complained of? If the Clergy from a Conſciouſneſs that their Dominion over the Laity is built upon a weak and irrational Foundation, that their Pretenſions to Power and the Guidance of them in ſpiritual Affairs, can only be maintained by Lay-Ignorance; if they,

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[t] P. 238. of the Fable, *&c.*

[u] See the Index of the Fable for *Vanini.*

[w] Ego ſane vel minimus Eccleſiæ militantis Tyro, cum anno præteritoLondini ad agonem Chriſtianum deſtinatus eſſem, adeoque 49 diebus in Latomiis tanquam palæſtra quadam exercerer, eo eram pro Catholicæ Eccleſiæ auctoritate defenſanda effundendi Sanguinis deſiderio accenſus, & inflammatus, ut mihi a Deo immortali vel majus donum aut melius contingere nullo modo potuiſſet. *Amph. Provid.* p. 117, 118.

thoroughly underſtanding their Intereſt, have always *aſſiſted the Growth of it with ſo much Application* [x] (as their Enemies have always objected to them ;) in ſhort, if *Knowledge* be the *Bane of Prieſt-craft* [y], ſurely the Clergy's promoting an Inſtitution calculated to ſpread the moſt uſeful and excellent Knowledge among the lower ſort of People, putting their very *Charter* of Privileges into their Hands, and enabling them to read and underſtand it, and ſo diſcern through their Craft, and aſſert their own Liberty ; (if the other be true, the doing all this, I ſay) can hardly be thought to proceed from ſelfiſh or ambitious Purpoſes : Or if both muſt be true, the Clergy, of all others, ſeem to be irreſiſtibly doomed to Cenſure in ſome Mens Opinions.

However, I can hardly think that the Clergy will expreſs much Reſentment on account of any thing ſaid in this *Eſſay*; or that he need even be afraid that any *Rods* (as he elegantly expreſſes himſelf) will be laid *in Piſs, and the whole Poſſe of diminutive Pedants* [z] riſe againſt him; unleſs the Rods are uſed, as *diminutive Pedants* do indeed uſe them now and then very unjuſtly, to whip Qualities into Boys that Nature never deſigned them. *Reſentment* is not what the Readers *of unqueſtionable good Senſe* [a] will beſtow upon this *Eſſay*. It may *divert* them, but it is impoſſible it ſhould make them heartily *angry*.

I can't however take leave of this without telling him, that the Clergy ought not to be uſed ſo contemptibly as he has done throughout his whole Book. *The*

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[x] *Free Thoughts*, &c. p. 151.

[y] Ibid. *and* p. 149. The Tricks and Stratagems of Clerick Invention—— are Monſters of Stink and Darkneſs, that grow ſick at the Appearance of Light, and faint away at the Scent of Knowledge.

[z] *Fable of the Bees*, p. 331. I ſee a thouſand Rods in Piſs, and the whole Poſſe of diminutive Pedants againſt me.

[a] P. 467. It has diverted Perſons of unqueſtionable good Senſe.

Function

Function of Divines deſerves the higheſt Reſpect, and is in Dignity ſuperior to all other Profeſſions [b].

The Author of the *Eſſay* has beſtowed a great deal of good Satyr upon Footmen [c]. It is pity his Book is *intended* only *for the Entertainment of Men of Knowledge and Education* [d], or elſe ſuch of them as could read, might grow better by his Inſtructions. But then again, as ſome of them might be dull enough to miſtake his Deſign, and look upon it as an Encouragement to Vice and Roguery, perhaps it is better upon the whole, the Book is ſo much *above their Sphere* [e], that the Verſe is allegorical, the *Proſe philoſophical* [f], and the whole only proper for *elevated Minds* [g]. But how comes all this Severity upon Footmen to make a Part of his *Eſſay upon Charity Schools*? Is it owing to Charity Schools that Footmen are generally *Rogues*, that *if they are honeſt, half of them* are *Sots*, that others are *quarrelſome* and *ſpoil their Cloaths*; that *thoſe who are good-natured are generally ſad Whoremaſters, that are ever running after the Wenches, and ſpoil all the Maid Servants they come near* [h]? If theſe are the Effects of Charity Schools, they will be thought very ſtrong Objections againſt them by all———but thoſe who think *private Vices publick Benefits.*

Beſides this, he ſays, *the Education* in Charity Schools *occaſions* a Scarcity of *Servants* in general [i]. He has complained already of the want of Labourers in Huſbandry, and by and by he will complain of the Dearneſs of Labour in Trade [k]. And has this *Searcher*

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[b] Free Thoughts, p. 259, *and* 260.
[c] P. 345, to 357. of the Fable, *&c.*
[d] P. 467. [e] Ibid. [f] P. 469. [g] P. 257, *and* 258. [h] P. 346.
[i] P. 346. The Scarcity of Servants occaſioned by the Education, *&c.*
[k] P. 359.

through

through every Degree and Station of Men[1] diſcovered at laſt, that all who are bred in Charity Schools immediately turn Gentlefolks, and can find means to ſubſiſt for a Conſtancy out of the Field, out of Shops, and out of Families? For if Charity Schools have occaſioned a want of Husbandmen, a Dearneſs of Labour in Trade, and a Scarcity of Servants, what other poſſible means is there left for them to ſubſiſt by? What hidden Myſteries, what unknown Employments have the Children themſelves, or the Managers of Charity Schools found out for them to apply to? And if there are none of theſe, by what Miracle are they preſerved from Starving?

The Truth is, the Charity Schools in *London* are ſo far from occaſioning either a Scarcity of Servants, or a Dearneſs of Labour ariſing from a Scarcity of working Hands in Trades (and Husbandry can't be affected by the *London* Schools one Way or other) that Charity Schools are become the Nurſeries for thoſe Employments. The Children are commonly taken from the moſt helpleſs Conditions of Life, from Idleneſs or Beggary, and raiſed to the ſuperior Stations of common Servants and Workmen in mean and ordinary Trades. I don't repreſent theſe Employments as *mean* and *ordinary*, to avoid the Objection that they are put to more creditable Trades than they ought to be, being content to reſt the Merits of it upon what has been ſaid already *(viz.)* that the more profitable the Trades are, the better it will be for the Publick, *provided* they always keep in view that *principal* Point, of extending the Charity as wide as poſſible. The Nature of ſuch an Education may now and then recommend them to a more advantagious Situation, than People of a much better Rank generally attain to. Thus for Inſtance, it

[1] P. 163. I have ſearch'd thro' every Degree and Station of Men,

was uſual for the *Eaſt-India* Company, long before theſe Charities were inſtituted, to take Boys from Hoſpitals, and ſend them abroad to be employed when they grew up as Writers, Factors, &c. Employments which, notwithſtanding the great Choice our preſent Charity Schools would afford them, are now engroſſed by People of much better Faſhion.

That the taking Children from this forlorn and miſerable Condition, to be employed in the higher Stations of Servants or Mechanicks, occaſions no want of them in that Condition from whence they were taken, has been ſhewn already [n], and need not be repeated here.

This Complaint of the Dearneſs of Labour gives the Author of the *Eſſay* a freſh Opportunity to ſhew his Judgment in Politicks. Foreigners can afford to ſell *the Manufactures* of Goods made of our own Materials *cheaper than our ſelves*, though the *Hazard run* in procuring them, obliges them to pay very dear for them [o]; and this Inconvenience ariſes from the greater Price paid for the Labour in working them up here, than there. He ſays, *Every where in the Country the Farmer wants* Hands, and *all Trades and Handicrafts are overſtocked* [p]. And can't this diſcerning Politician ſee that any Draughts from thoſe now employed in Trades, to be employed in Husbandry, would raiſe the Price of Labour in thoſe Trades, and conſequently of the Goods ſo worked up, and by that means enable our Neighbours ſtill more to underſell us in foreign Markets? But though the want of Labourers, the want of Servants, and the Dearneſs of Labour in Trade, make but a very indifferent Figure *together*, each of them *ſeparately* will ſerve for a very good Objection

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[n] P. 291, *and* 292. [o] P. 358. [p] P. 344, *and* 345.

againſt

againſt Charity Schools; and ſo indeed may any thing elſe that he pleaſes to offer.

The true Reaſon why Labour is dear in *England*, and other Countries are enabled to underſell us in foreign Markets, is owing to what *the Author of the Fable of the Bees* was afraid to charge it upon. Other Countries are content to live more *Frugally* than we; and it will be found, that not only this, but all his other Complaints againſt Charity Schools, are in a great Meaſure owing to LUXURY. The Dearneſs of Labour of all ſorts, the Largeneſs of Wages and other Perquiſites to Servants, their Idleneſs and Inſolence, are all the Effects of Luxury; of which, as Sir *William Temple* obſerves, *though the Example ariſe among idle Perſons, yet the Imitation* is *run into all Degrees, even of thoſe Men, by whoſe Induſtry the Nation ſubſiſts.*

To this we owe the Scarcity of Servants where they are *really* wanted: And from hence ariſes that prodigious Loſs to the Publick, that *Draught* of luſty and able-bodied Men from Husbandry or Country Buſineſs, to add to the Number and Magnificence of Equipages: *A ſort of idle and rioting Vermin, by which* (we are told) *the Kingdom is almoſt devoured*, and which *are every where become a publick Nuſance.* Now the ſame Sagacity that helped any one to diſcover the *Nuſance*, ſhould likewiſe, one would think, have pointed out the *Cauſe*. *Expence* in every Rank of Life is viſibly increaſed, and pray Heaven! the national Stock may prove to be increaſed in Proportion. But it is to be feared there is a fatal Miſtake in the common Eſtimation of our preſent Wealth. Either the Creditor of the Publick has no ſuch *real* Property as he imagines, and lives up to; or the landed Man is greatly miſtaken in thinking the whole of his Eſtate to be his own; I mean as to the *Inheritance*, as well as yearly Profit; and

where

where the Miſtake lyes, our Superiors *may* indeed determine as ſoon as they pleaſe, but a few Years *muſt* diſcover.

The Author ſeems apprehenſive, that ſome Part of this Charge againſt Charity Schools will be imputed to Luxury [q]. He is in Pain for his favourite Vice, and therefore would fain have the Reader uſe it with Tenderneſs: He does not think it fair that any thing ſhould *be ſcored on the Account of Luxury, that is downright the Effect of Folly* [r]. But this was leaving his Client in the Lurch, and deſerting the Cauſe at a Time when it moſt wanted his Aſſiſtance. Proving any thing to be the Effect of *Folly*, won't acquit *Luxury* of the Charge, till *Luxury* is proved to be *Wiſdom*; which how well he has ſucceeded in the Proof, has been ſeen already. To return to our Purpoſe.

Nothing can be a greater Proof of the Excellency of theſe Charities, than that ſo many Years Experience of them ſhould not have furniſhed their Enemies (who appear to be great Dealers in Politicks) with better Reaſons againſt them. How would a Patriot in former Days, who bewailed the Misfortune of his Country from the vaſt Number of People who were not only uſeleſs but burthenſome to the Community; how would he have ſwelled with Indignation againſt thoſe minute Politicians, who would overturn an Inſtitution that enables all theſe to become ſerviceable Citizens? that removes them from Poverty and all the common Temptations to Roguery, and puts them in a Capacity to get an honeſt and a plentiful Maintenance? For it is moſt infallibly true, that the more Money private Men get, ſo much the richer is the Nation. *National*

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[q] P. 349, *and* 360.

[r] P. 349.

Wealth is nothing but the whole of private Property put together.

As to that paltry Objection againſt them, that *the putting Children out to Trades is deſtructive to the Harmony of a Nation, and an impertinent intermeddling with what few of theſe Governors know any thing of* [r]; The Reader muſt look upon it as a Proof of what was ſaid juſt now, or a Pretence to cover ſome other Deſign in the Oppoſition to them. For the Schools themſelves are chiefly ſupported by Contributions from *Tradeſmen*, who, as it is reaſonable to think, they are the beſt Judges where Hands in Trades are moſt wanted, ſo it is probable they have the greateſt Share in their Management. But the latter part of the Charge will return with great Force and Juſtice upon himſelf and his Friends. For though we ſhould allow them to have better Reaſons for refuſing their own Contributions and Endeavours to promote them, than it is feared moſt of them have, yet to *intermeddle with* and cenſure the Diſpoſal of other Mens Charity, can't fail of being thought to a great Degree *impertinent*, as what they have nothing at all to do with, and, if we may judge by him, *know very little of*.

That Inſtitutions of this kind may be render'd uſeful, not yet been denied by them; it is the Abuſe and Miſmanagement of them they have hitherto found fault with. Why then don't theſe publick ſpirited Gentry, *who burn with the noble Zeal and Deſire after Immortality, and take ſuch Care to improve their Country* [t], (why don't they) generouſly contribute to their Maintenance, and by that means get into the Management of them, and ſo turn the Balance from Trades to Husbandry, as well as cor-

[r] P. 342.

[t] P. 369.

rect

rect all the other Abuſes they complain of? He knows very well, that *when this Iſland ſhall be cultivated, and every Inch of it made habitable and uſeful, and the whole the moſt convenient and agreeable Spot upon Earth, all the Coſt and Labour laid out upon it will be glorioufly repaid by the Incenſe of thoſe that ſhall come after us* [u]. Such a noble Flight, ſuch a Panegyrick upon Patriotiſm, you are not to doubt is the Reſult of his ſincere Opinion. He who is ſo great an Enemy to *Prieſt-craft*, would never recommend a Conduct to others, that he did not care for practiſing himſelf [w]. He will make it appear that ſuch a publick Spirit or Self-denial is not only beneficial to the World, but highly reaſonable in itſelf, and befitting the Character of a wiſe Man. *So ſilly a Creature is Man, as that, intoxicated with the Fumes of Vanity, he can feaſt on the Thoughts of the Praiſes that ſhall be paid his Memory in future Ages with ſo much Extaſy, as to neglect*, &c. [x]. And again, *To pay Honours to the Dead, will ever be a ſure Method to make Bubbles of the Living* [y]. And to ſay the Truth, this fear of being thought *Bubbles* to Fame and Reputation, like a Panick, ſeems to have ſeized the whole Party, and to have influenced their publick Proceedings for many Years paſt. But what a ſpecial Writer this is to deal out Morality and Politicks to the World, and to inſtruct others how to lay out their Charity for the publick Good!

The ſame Queſtion will be aſked with Regard to every other Objection that has been urged againſt them. If for Inſtance it is ſaid that a Diſaffection to the Government is encouraged in Charity Schools, why don't theſe

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[u] P. 369.

[w] P. 258. Let the Clergy preach Abſtinence and Self-denial to others, and take what Liberty they pleaſe for themſelves.

[x] P. 237. [y] P. 233.

Objectors (if they have at the ſame time the Cauſe of Religion at Heart) erect other Charity Schools, (or by contributing to the preſent ones get into the Management of them) where Loyalty to the Government ſhould be inculcated together with the Precepts of Religion? And can it be imagined that theſe with the Authority of the Government to back them, ſhould not be more than a Balance againſt ſuch pretended Nurſeries of Diſaffection? And may they not by the ſame Methods remedy all the other Inconveniencies, which in their Opinion the preſent Schools are liable to?

There never was an Inſtitution better calculated to promote *Liberty* as well as Religion, and to diſappoint the ambitious Views of thoſe who would govern the Conſciences of the Vulgar upon a Pretence that they want Abilities to know and believe for themſelves. Thoſe who mean well, and yet give into the common Clamour againſt theſe Schools, ought to ſuſpect the Tendency of their own Opinions, and the Deſign other Men have in raiſing an Averſion to them, when they conſider that this pompous *Eſſay* againſt the Uſefulneſs of Charity Schools comes from an Author, whoſe *profeſſed* Deſign is to ſhew the *Uſefulneſs* of VICE and ROGUERY.

The Truth is, the Infidelity of the Age has not yet reached that Height, as to enable the profeſſed Enemies to RELIGION to make any formidable Attempts againſt theſe Schools merely upon their own Strength. From this Senſe of their Weakneſs they have taken Pains of late Years to draw in the warm Zealots amongſt us to join in the ſame Endeavours, from a Notion of the great Diſadvantage they threatened to their common Party; which however is declaring pretty plainly that Religion and Knowledge are the Enemies they ought to guard againſt. This Party Clamour they have promoted

moted with ſo little Decency, as to make *that* an Objection againſt Charity Schools; which Charity Schools in their own Nature are calculated to *prevent*, and which ſurely will be found to ariſe from a quite different Quarter. What but a blind Attachment to a Set of Opinions could ſuffer Men to aſcribe a general *Dearneſs* of Labour to the Idleneſs of Charity Children, and overlook (not only the extraordinary Increaſe of idle Servants, which the growing Luxury of the Age has occaſioned, but) that vaſt Body of Troops (which the Government has long been under an unhappy Neceſſity of keeping up) who in their ſeveral Employments at Home would do more uſeful Work in one Year, than all the Children in Charity Schools could have done from the Time of their Inſtitution to this Day?

FINIS.

ADVERTISEMENT to the READER.

MR. *Bayle*, and the Author of *the Fable of the Bees* after him, having quoted the Authority of one Mr. *St. Didier* for the Uſefulneſs of the publick Stews of *Venice*, and not being able to meet with the Book till after theſe Papers were printed off, it won't be amiſs to add ſome Extracts from thence concerning this religious *Eſtabliſhment*: By which it will appear that Mr. *Bayle* (for the Author of *the Fable* is no more concerned in it, than a School-Boy who repeats amiſs after his Maſter)

Maſter) had very little Reaſon to make *St. Diſdier* vouch for a Story, which in the ſame Paſſage he makes a Jeſt of and ridicules the Policy it was grounded upon.

'Two hundred and fifty four Year ago (ſays *St. Diſdier*[a]) *Venice* being without Courtizans, the Republick was obliged to procure a great Number of foreign ones. *Doglioni*, who has writ the remarkable Affairs of *Venice*, extremely commends the Wiſdom of the Republick in it, which by this Means knew how to provide for the Security of Women of Honour, who were every Day publickly attacked; the moſt holy Places not being a ſufficient Aſylum for their Chaſtity.' [So far ſeems to be a Quotation from *Doglioni*. He adds] 'Wherefore the Republick being no doubt of Opinion that the ſalt Air that People breathe in this Climate, makes the Diſorder habitual and without Remedy, they thought it proper to provide for it, by appointing Habitations for theſe Courtizans, and eſtabliſhing an Order among them, which ſhould contribute to their common Maintenance.

'They entruſted the Conduct of theſe Ladies of Pleaſure to an *honourable* Matron, who keeping the Box of all the Gain they made in the Profeſſion, parcell'd out the Money to them monthly, giving to every one according to the Proportion of Buſineſs which her Merit procured her. This wiſe Conduct of theirs put the Courtizans upon ſo good a Foot, and multiplied them ſo plentifully, that the *Republick* need not fear *Venice* will ever be in want of them again. All the Streets and Canals are abundantly ſtocked with them. They commonly keep at their Windows and Balconies, with a great Quantity of

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[a] *La Ville & la Republique de Veniſe. Par. Mr. le Chevalier de St. Diſdier. Quat. Edit. à la Haye.* 1685.

'Ribbans

'Ribbans about their Heads, expoſing all their Charms 'to draw in Cuſtomers. But if they have the Reputa-'tion to be the handſomeſt [or beſt ſhaped] of any in 'Italy, they have likewiſe the Fame of beſtowing ſome 'Favours ſo liberally, as to hinder People from forget-'ting them very ſoon, *p.* 331, 332.

Again. Speaking of the Frequency of young Womens being debauched, and ſeduced away from their Parents and Friends, to ſuch a Degree, that at *Venice* you can't but every Day hear of freſh Inſtances of ſuch Violences, he ſays that 'Young Women who are not ſa-'tisfied with their Husbands, or who are given to De-'bauchery, are very often carried off in this manner; 'and it is very difficult for their Fathers, Mothers, or 'Husbands to have any Redreſs, unleſs ſome Noble-'man will intereſt himſelf in the Cauſe. *p.* 334. He ob-ſerves afterwards, that when theſe are once entered in the Profeſſion, they ſeldom leave it. *p.* 339.

'As it is impoſſible this Libertiniſm ſhould be con-'fined to the *Venetian* Nobility alone, without paſſing 'by a ſort of Contagion and neceſſary Conſequence 'into all other Conditions; it comes to paſs that Ci-'tizens, Artificers and Strangers, have a full Liberty 'at *Venice* with Regard to their Pleaſures; provided 'they don't encroach upon the Diſtrict which the *Ve-'netian* Gentry think is particularly reſerved to them-'ſelves, and which if they ever do, they are in Danger 'of paying dear for. *p.* 335, *and* 336.

'As it can't eaſily happen that ſo licentious a De-'bauchery ſhould content itſelf with one ſort of Plea-'ſure; ſo it is eaſy to believe, what we are aſſured of, 'that the Courtizans are put to ſuch infamous Uſes, 'that, whatever their *natural* Charms may be, to en-'gage by their extraordinary Lewdneſs the Inclinations 'of thoſe who come thither, the Debauchery that is 'committed there cannot but give one Horror. *p.* 336, 337.

'In

'In such a Disorder, and in so general a Corruption, it is not to be wonder'd at, if that Distemper 'which is the usual Consequence of this Vice is so diffusely spread; I don't mean only among the Courtizans, who are almost all destroyed by it, but among 'the married Women, of which I would less be thought 'to except Women of Fashion, than those of the ordinary Sort. And the Reason is, that as not only 'the Youth, but also the married Men of Quality are 'almost all alike plunged in this Debauchery, they 'must also necessarily partake of the Pain which this 'Disorder produces: And since the one make no more 'scruple of communicating to their Wives what they 'get abroad, than the others of returning in the 'same Kind these Favours again, which they have received elsewhere, it comes to pass that the Infection 'is almost universal.

'One may easily think from what has been said, there 'is no Place in *Europe* where this Malady is more 'common: And I know it for a Truth, that Gentlewomen lately married, and not being acquainted 'with these Disorders, and taking them for Indispositions common to Women, are reduced to the most deplorable Condition, without knowing what ails them, 'till the Increase of the Illness and the Nature of the 'Medicines, gives them the first Notice what their Distemper really is. *p.* 337, 338.

'As it is a most certain Truth, that without a particular Assistance from Heaven, the Vices of Youth 'follow a Man to his Grave, so we must not be surpriz'd if the most hoary Heads among the *Venetian* Nobility retain their juvenile Habits. They 'are so far from being cautious in this Respect, and 'conceal their Practices so little, that Husbands don't 'at all scruple to leave Word at Home that they are 'gone to dine with their Whore, and their very Wives

'send

'ſend thither to them whatever they are pleaſed to or-
'der; where I would have People gueſs, rather than
'commit to Paper my ſelf, what ſcandalous and extra-
'vagant Artifices theſe old Fellows ſometimes uſe to
'excite again in them theſe Inclinations which their na-
'tural Weakneſs at that Age deprives them of, in ſpite
'of all they can do to revive them. *p.* 338, 339.

'The Condition of a Courtezan is of ſo little Pre-
'judice to the Honour of thoſe who only proſtitute
'themſelves to a ſingle Perſon, that upon her retiring
'or marrying, ſhe may live for the future without any
'Reproach. From the Hopes of this many a young
'Woman gives Way to her Inclinations. But it is
'ſeldom that they do indeed retire from this Way of
'Life. The Debauchery, and Freedom from the Re-
'ſtraint their Parents lay them under (which they greatly
'eſteem) are very ſtrong Engagements, and keep them
'cloſe to that Profeſſion, which we actually ſee ho-
'noured by the Daughters of noble Families. *p.* 339.
He had ſaid before that 'the Quality of a Courtezan
'was ſo far from being diſhonoured by her Profeſſion
'in the Opinion of the People, that it rather added to
'her Dignity, and procured her Reſpect in Proportion
'to the Quality of her Gallants. *p.* 331.

*Again. Speaking of the grand Maſquerades at the lat-
ter end of the Carnaval at* Venice, *he ſays*, 'Women of
'Faſhion who have Gallants, find in this Seaſon a thou-
'ſand Ways to deceive their Husbands and Overſeers;
'for there is no Place where you may not introduce
'your ſelf by the help of Maſques. In ſo much, that
'the *Carnaval* is the true Harveſt of Love-Affairs,
'where they gather the Fruits of all the Intrigues that
'have been laid in a leſs favourable Seaſon, where they
'ſettle new Correſpondences with Ladies the moſt
'carefully obſerved, and concert Meaſures for their fu-
'ture Entertainment. *p.* 342.

I thought it would not be diſagreeable to the Reader to receive this Account from an Author, who has been repreſented himſelf as an Advocate for publick Stews [b]. Theſe Paſſages will confirm the Truth of ſeveral things mentioned in the foregoing Pages, by ſhewing *in fact* the deplorable Condition to which this licenſed Wickedneſs has reduced the Morals of the People in *Italy*. For that it is not confined to *Venice* alone, the ſame Author told us at the beginning of the Chapter. 'Thoſe (ſays 'he) who are as well acquainted with *Rome* as *Venice*, 'are at a Loſs to decide in which of the two Cities 'there is the greateſt Number of publick Whores, and 'the greateſt Libertiniſm.' The Reader will judge from hence of the Truth of that Suggeſtion in Mr. *Bayle*. 'It is well known the Reaſon why they' (ſo many good Politicians as theſe, *ſays his Follower, as an humble Improvement upon him*) 'tolerate lewd Hou-'ſes, is to prevent a worſe Evil, an Impurity of a 'more execrable Kind, and to provide for the Safety 'of Women of Honour.' Though he could not but know *St. Diſdier* had given very different, and much more probable Reaſons for this infamous Policy *(viz.)* the alluring Strangers to come and ſpend their Money among them, and the Conſideration, that a People bred up in Effeminacy and Debauchery, ſeldom trouble their Heads about State Affairs, or attempt any Change in the Government. *vid. p.* 338.

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[b] Such a relation as Mr. *de St. Didier's* were uſeful to convince the World in this Point. Mr. *Bayle's* Penſ. Diver. Sect. 165.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM

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